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S C H A M Y L,

THE SULTAN, WARRIOR, AND PROPHET

OF THE

C A U C A S U S.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. F. WAGNER AND F. BODENSTEDT,

BY

JACQUES WRAXALL.

LONDON :

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1854.

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SCHAMYL:

THE

SULTAN, WARRIOR, AND PROPHET

OF

THE CAUCASUS.

TRANSLATED,

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. F. WAGNER AND F. BODENSTEDT,

BY LASCELLES WRAXALL.

Si l'on s'est trop appesanti sur quelques détails de combats et de prises de villes qui ressemblent à d'autres combats et à d'autres sièges, on en demande pardon au lecteur philosophe : et on n'a d'autre excuse, sinon que ces petits faits, étant liés au grands, marchent nécessairement à leur suite.—VOLTAIRE—(*Hist. de l'Empire de Russie.*)

LONDON:

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17 May 49, of Albert H. Ly. by en

P R E F A C E .

THE history of few countries is so interesting, and yet so little known, as that of the Caucasus. A mysterious veil, very rarely, and then only partially, raised, has covered for centuries this land and its inhabitants. The reports which, from time to time, have reached Europe from these majestic mountains, have sounded like the echo of the myths of antiquity. We heard that the Russians had penetrated to the banks of the Phasis, to carry off the golden fleece of liberty from the evergreen forests of Colchis, and armed bands, contending with and destroying each other, sprang up from the human bones with which the Colchian plains were bestrewed.

We are aware that the Russians have converted the Caucasus into an immense camp—that war has been carried on there for a length of time—that the mountains are commanded by Russian forts in every direction; but why

the Emperor annually fills Daghistan with the corpses of his warriors—why, and with what right, Russia commenced this unholy war, whose end is still incalculable—we still require information. To furnish this, if only in a slight measure, is the purpose of my present work.

Any one who believes that the termination of this struggle depends on the destruction of stone forts, and the extirpation of a few forests, does not understand the nature of the Caucasian war.

The Russians may cover all the countries of the Caucasus with their armies—they may raze all the forts and burn the forests, and even melt the snow of the towering peaks with the fire of their artillery—and yet the unhappy war would not be terminated. They may search out the most hidden ravines in Daghistan, build new cabins in the desolate abodes of the ancient heroes, and extirpate the entire population of the mountains—and still the flame of war, ever fanned afresh, will continue to burn for ages. For this struggle is not merely one between man and man—it is a contest between the mountain and the steppe.

The population of the Caucasus may be changed; but the breeze of liberty blowing from its mountains will ever remain the same. Strengthened by this breeze, even Russian mercenaries would grow into patriots, and a new hero-race would spring up from their descendants,

to turn their arms against the same serfdom, in the extension of which their fathers were once the blind instruments.

As for my own share in this little book, I can only lay claim to the merit of selection and arrangement: the materials I found ready to hand in several German works. My original intention had been to render a simple version of a pamphlet published in Germany, within the year, and called *Schamyl, als Feldherr, Sultan, und Prophet des Kaukasus*. Finding, however, during the progress of my task, that Dr. Wagner's work did not furnish that guarantee of solidity which could alone render it acceptable to the English reader, I was compelled to add copious extracts from Friedrich Bodenstedt's splendid book, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, which has, indeed, been a source of inspiration to *all* recent writers on the Caucasus, not excepting Dr. Wagner himself.

LASCELLES WRAXALL.

SCHAMYL.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROPHETS OF THE CAUCASUS.

SCHAMYL AT HIMRI.—HIS THREE MYSTERIOUS ESCAPES FROM DEATH.—MANSUR BEY, THE FIRST PROPHET OF THE CAUCASUS.—KASI MULLAH, SCHAMYL'S INSTRUCTOR.—HIS HEROIC DEATH IN THE BREACH.

It was on the 18th October, 1832, that the Russians made their last and victorious attack upon the Caucasian fortress of Himri, into which the enemy, under the command of the chieftain Kasi Mullah, and of the Murid* Schamyl, had thrown themselves. The conflict had been raging for several days with unexampled bravery on both sides; but, despite the numerical superiority of the Russian forces, and the terrible ally they possessed in their artillery, every summons to surrender was rejected by the dauntless mountaineers. In their wild fanaticism, chanting verses of the Koran, they poured their death-dealing shower of bullets on the foes. The triple wall of this eyry had been already breached. The towers of the fortress had been destroyed by the Russian cannon; but Kasi Mullah and Schamyl obstinately rejected any thought of surrender. At sunrise, on the 18th October, the fortress was at length stormed, and after a most sanguinary and murderous hand-to-hand contest, it fell into the power of the Russians. Kasi Mullah, and a great number of the Murids, were killed at Schamyl's side: the latter was himself wounded by a bullet, and received a bayonet thrust; but he

* The Murids are members of a sacred corps, who have consecrated themselves to death for their faith.

cut a path through the combatants, disappeared in an extraordinary manner, and in two years the Caucasus once again resounded with the glory of his name.

It has been frequently asserted, and in various quarters, that Schamyl was taken prisoner at Himri by the Russians, carried to St. Petersburg, and, after receiving a commission in the Russian army, sent to fight against his own countrymen. In consequence of an insult he received from his superior officer, he took advantage of the first opportunity to rejoin the enemies of Russia. It is even asserted that, at a later date, a wounded Russian officer, who had been taken prisoner, had been led before him, and that Schamyl, recognising in him his most intimate friend during his residence in St. Petersburg, restored him to liberty, after a lengthened conversation. This pretended conversation was naturally repeated with a variety of details, which invested it with a highly interesting character.

The anecdote we have just mentioned is certainly true, though with this distinction, that the hero of it was not Schamyl, but Daniel Bey, who is now Schamyl's friend and comrade in arms. Daniel Bey had indeed been made a Russian general, but deserted, and went from Tiflis to Sklissia, of which country he was Sultan, and where he again raised the banner of revolt. The Russian colonel, Belgard, marched against him with a large body of troops, and took Sklissia by storm. Daniel, however, escaped, and joined Schamyl, who appointed him one of his staff-officers.

It may be easily conjectured that Schamyl's miraculous escape furnished the mountaineers with materials for the most extraordinary rumours. Among these, one was current, that Schamyl had really been killed at Himri, but Allah had recalled him to life, in order to give a visible sign, by the resurrection of the prophet, that he was the chosen leader of his co-religionists.

In the year 1834, Schamyl's life was for the second time preserved in a marvellous manner. The scene of this occurrence was Chunsak, the residence of the Khan of the Avarians. The Khanum, Pashubike, who was devoted to the Russian interest, refused to join Kasi Mullah in 1830. At a later date,

Hamsad Bey, the successor of this prophet, took possession of Chunsak, and after treacherously killing the two sons of the Khanum, who had come to his tent for the purpose of negotiation, ended the tragedy by executing their mother.

But there is never any lack of avengers in Daghistan, and the new leader of the Murids was fated to fall by the hands of two of his most faithful and distinguished comrades.

The two brothers, Osman and Hadji Murad, had been brought up with Omar Khan, the eldest son of the Khanum of Chunsak. At the instigation of their own father, they avenged the death of their friend, by cutting down Hamsad Bey in the mosque. Osman fell by the sabres of the Murids, but his brother inflamed the nation to rise in insurrection. A great number of Murids were assassinated in the mosque, and those who escaped took refuge in the tower. Schamyl, who had followed Hamsad Bey to the mosque, was among the number. They defended themselves with the courage of despair. Hadji Murad gave orders to set the tower on fire, and only two Murids escaped the flames. One was the betrayer of the plot, who had sworn on the Koran to keep it secret, but had revealed it to Hadji Murad. He was recaptured, however, and burnt alive. The other was Schamyl himself, who again disappeared without leaving a trace, and in a most marvellous fashion.

Schamyl's third escape from impending death was not a whit less extraordinary. It took place in the year 1839, at the storming of the fortress of Achulko, where the most dauntless bravery and contempt of death were again displayed on either side. The wives of the Tchetchenzes stood on the surrounding rocks in their fluttering robes, hurling down immense masses of stone on the assailants, and incited their husbands by their wild cries. "I cannot understand how," a Russian officer who was engaged in the struggle afterwards wrote—"I cannot understand how every thing then appeared to me so natural. But the most cowardly among us were at that moment as wild as panthers, and more terrible lightning flashed from our eyes than from our muskets. We bathed in blood, we clambered over corpses, and the groans of the dying were our music. I saw

every thing, but did not regard it humanly, as would otherwise have been the case: for the god within me was dead, and only the devil alive."

The fortress had been taken, but Schamyl himself, the object of all this toil, was neither among the killed nor the prisoners. Above the Russians a few Tchetchenzes were still visible in the rocky cliffs, and after a while some deserters came down, who, on cross examination, confessed that Schamyl was there, and intended to let himself down by ropes during the night. Trust-worthy soldiers were immediately selected to guard the place which the deserters had indicated. At midnight a slight noise was heard. A Lesghi was let down, who, after careful examination of the terrain, gave a signal, and a second Caucasian came down from the heights with the activity of a cat. He was followed by a third, wrapped up in a white cloak, such as Schamyl usually wore: the Russians burst from their hiding-place, and hurriedly conducted the three prisoners to their general's tent. Here, however, it was soon discovered that the fugitive they had taken for Schamyl, was an entirely different person; while the real Schamyl, at the moment when the Russians left the spot, descended from his eyry, and reached the banks of the Koïssu. Showers of bullets were in vain sent after him: he gained the opposite bank, and disappeared.

Schamyl himself never revealed in what manner he succeeded in escaping from Achulko; for it was of the utmost importance for him to increase the sanctity that attached to his name, and cause the people to believe that a miracle would always be performed, whenever his life or liberty was imperilled.

However, before we proceed to give any account of Schamyl's history, it will be advisable, in order to comprehend what we shall have to say about him, to give a short account of two men, who distinguished themselves before his advent as leaders of the forces opposed to the Russians.

In the East, and indeed in every partially civilized country, where no written history exists, or, at the most, is utterly unknown, the oral traditions are interwoven with a multitude of fables, and it is always difficult to separate the chaff from the

tares—the gold from its alloy. In addition to this, the more marvellous a story is, the more attractive is it to the many. In no country is this propensity so evident as in the Caucasus, where stories, as they pass from mouth to mouth, are more and more adorned, so that it at last becomes a matter of extreme difficulty to separate truth from fiction.

Ellja Mansur takes a prominent place among those chieftains about whom the most extraordinary stories are in circulation. His real name was Dervish Muhammad, and Daghistan the first place where he actively appeared. At the head of an army of Lesghis and Tchetchenzes, he made an attack on Kisliar, where, however, he was driven back with a great loss: the same fate he also experienced at Navur, where the wives of the Cossacks fought by the side of their husbands.

Mansur Bey was the first who strenuously exerted himself to unite the several tribes of the Caucasus, in order to cope with the Russians with a greater chance of success. He preached the Koran, and succeeded in converting the princes and nobles of the Ubychs and of Daghistan, who, since that time, have remained faithful to the Muhammadan religion.*

Mansur Bey was a man of talent, and addicted to the severest temperance—qualities which doubtlessly heightened the magic of his name, and it still lives in the remembrance of the mountaineers. He had several imitators and successors in his holy mission; but neither Gus Bey nor Djimbulat attained the high reputation which he acquired. It would therefore be a waste of time to inquire into the deeds and lives of these two chieftains.

A much more important part, however, was played by the already mentioned Kasi Mullah, a man of short stature, with small eyes, a scanty beard, and a face disfigured by pock-marks. He had been brought up by the Mullah of the aoul (village) of Bereckeï in Koïssu-bula. This chieftain discovered extraordinary abilities in the young man, and consequently sent him to Kadi Muhammad, in the territory of the Khan Aslan.

* Mansur was taken prisoner by the Russians in 1791, at the siege of Anapa, and carried to the convent of Solovetzkî, on the Black Sea, where he soon died.

In the year 1821, however, this Khan expelled both teacher and pupil from his country, and Kasi then became a travelling scribe, an occupation which furnished him opportunities of forming an accurate acquaintance with all the peculiarities of the country, which afterwards was filled with the glory of his name.

A short time afterwards, in the year 1830, he was seen at the head of a band of Murids, whom he had himself instructed in strategy. With this little corps he declared war against the Russians. Naurus Bey, who was confined as a prisoner in Derbend, effected his escape, and became a partisan of Kasi. The Mullah did not, like other chieftains, bear arms himself, and took no active part in the contest, save by inciting the faithful by the fire of his eloquence.

At this time Paskievitch had just left to open the campaign against the Poles, and his command had been entrusted to General Pancratieff, upon which the prophet appeared before Tarku with a band of Lesghis and Tchetchenzes. The citadel of this town, called Burnaya—or the stormy—was commanded by Major Fodosseyef, and was only occupied by a weak garrison. If Kasi Mullah had attacked it from the mountain side, he would undoubtedly have taken it: but he preferred a blockade of the town, which lies further to the east. In this he had two important objects in view. The first was to gain possession of the wells, which exclusively furnish the town with water, and the second, to capture the powder magazine, which lay in the immediate vicinity.

His undertaking was entirely successful: but at the moment when the mountain warriors burst into the powder magazine, a grenade was fired at it from the citadel. The magazine exploded, and hundreds of the Tcherkess lost their lives in consequence.

In the meanwhile, the garrison made repeated and furious sallies, but they suffered horribly from thirst, and appeared to have no other choice except to give up the citadel or bury themselves under the ruins. In this necessity a Tartar offered to inform General Kachanoff of the desperate position in which Tarku was. He sprang down from the walls: the Russians fired at

him, and he returned their fire. In consequence of this ruse he was looked upon as a deserter, and was allowed to continue his journey unimpeded. A few days later, General Kachanoff received a note in a gun-barrel, informing of the danger which impended over the menaced fortress. He hurried off immediately to their assistance, and the delight of the garrison was very great when they heard the thunder of the Russian cannon. The battle was a terrible one, and raged for two days; on the 30th May, however, Kasi Mullah raised the siege, and retired to Tabasseran, to induce the inhabitants to join the insurgents. Colonel Miklacheffski was sent to disperse his troops, in which he succeeded after a brilliant campaign, which only lasted a fortnight, and through which the commander of the expedition received the title of the "Black Colonel" from the mountaineers, in consequence of the terror he caused them. At the same time they altered Kasi Mullah's name into Tasi Mullah, or dog, to express the sufferings to which he exposed them.

In the face of this defeat, Kasi Mullah commenced on the 19th August the siege of Derbend—a town of considerable importance, in which he had some confederates. Major Vasle-croff, however, the commandant of the fort Narynkali, inflamed the courage of the inhabitants with such success, that the Tartars came to him and demanded arms, and indeed gave the Russians powerful assistance in their sallies. A murderous contest took place here, in which the Russians, although inferior in numbers, were the victors. Every stratagem which Kasi Mullah now employed, only served to lower him in the estimation of the nation; and when he received information, on the 27th August, of the approach of General Kachanoff, he raised the siege and fled to the mountains.

The Russians, in return for these inroads, took the aouls of Duvek, Madjalis, Erpeli, and Tcherkey, from which they carried off an immense amount of booty; for the Lesghis had concealed their valuables there, under the impression that they would be in perfect safety. At the capture of Hurment-juk, another populous aoul, Abd-ur-Achman, one of Kasi Mullah's captains, was burnt alive in a tower, together with about fifty Murids.

All these defeats, however, did not prevent Kasi Mullah from surprising the town of Kisliar in broad daylight, on the 1st November. He acquired a considerable amount of booty, more especially by raising a forced contribution from the Armenian merchants. On the 2nd December, the Russians made an attack on the aoul of Tjum Kesun. Colonel Mikeeffski was killed upon this expedition; but, before drawing his last breath, he said to his soldiers, "Take it," and they took the aoul by storm, and murdered the whole of the inhabitants.

On the 17th October, 1832, General Rosen, after traversing the defile of Himri, which the mountaineers had asserted to be impassable except after rain, attacked the village and fortress of the same name, and on the following day the storm took place, which we referred to at the commencement of this chapter. The volunteers from the regiment of sappers took the last tower at the point of the bayonet, and Kasi Mullah perished in the breach, in a manner worthy the hero and the prophet. Covered with wounds, bathed in blood, and fully prepared for death, he sank on his knees, and cheered on his followers by his invocations to Allah. He received the deathblow undauntedly, holding his beard by the left hand, and the other raised to heaven.

His comrade in arms, whose lot it was to escape from this scene of horror, was SCHAMYL, whose life we purpose to describe, after giving a short account and history of the theatre of his deeds, upon which this wonderful man has for the last thirty years been playing a part, which has filled both friend and foe with astonishment and admiration.

CHAPTER II.

THE CAUCASUS AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS.

MOUNT ARARAT AND THE DELUGE.—THE AMAZONS.—THE ARGONAUTS.—ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.—MITHRIDATES, KING OF PONTUS.—THE DOMINION OF THE ROMANS.—INFORMATION ABOUT THE CAUCASUS DERIVED FROM BYZANTINE AND ARABIAN HISTORIOGRAPHERS.—THE MONGOLIANS.—CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.—THE GENOESE.

THERE are few countries in which nature develops so great an amount of poetry as in the Caucasus. Its natural beauties are on a more magnificent scale than those of the Alpine world, and its inhabitants justly enjoy the reputation of being the handsomest race of beings the earth can any where produce.

The country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates does not form a portion of the Russian empire—the cradle of humanity has not yet been conquered by the Muscovite; but the territory which, according to tradition, was punished by the deluge, has been for some time in the power of the Russians.

Erivan, the capital of Russian Armenia, signifies in that language “whole,” for Noah’s ark was seen here in its entirety. *Nahit-jevan* signifies the “half,” and *Echmiadzin* the “quarter.” These different denominations indicate the passage of the ark over various districts. Before the ark reached Ararat, it is said to have rested on the Elb-rouss, and the inhabitants of this province assert, that it split the summit of the mountain into the two peaks which are now visible.

Grecian mythology made the Caucasus the scene of a very important event in its annals. Prometheus was chained to a rock in this range of mountains, as a punishment for stealing fire from heaven. This myth still lives in the memory of the inha-

bitants, who narrate it with a few very unimportant variations.

Herodotus places the Amazons in the Caucasus. The Scythians, according to his account, were not able to conquer the Amazons ; they, therefore, commenced negotiations with them, and were at length united in matrimony. The Sarmatians were the result of this alliance. Popular tradition fully accords with the narration of the "Father of History," and states that the Circassians or Tcherkess originally inhabited Tauris, and after proceeding to the Caucasus, and finding their inability to conquer the Amazons, they put an end to the contest by marrying them.

The manners and customs of the Circassian women of the present day, are perfectly adapted to confirm this tradition ; for they share all the fatigues and dangers of the war with their husbands. The sunnite women are more especially distinguished by their courage ; and at the capture of Achulko, the Russians regarded in astonishment 400 women, who, after performing the bravest actions, preferred death to captivity. As soon as they saw that all was irremediably lost, they hurled themselves down from the precipices into the abyss that yawned beneath them.

Herodotus had a very accurate acquaintance with the Caspian Sea. He gives its length and breadth with great exactitude, and declares that it is an "isolated lake ;" while Ptolemæus afterwards propagated the erroneous opinion, that it communicated with other bodies of water.

Colchis was the present Mingrelia : here was the Golden Fleece, to obtain which the Greeks made two expeditions, those of Phryxus and of the Argonauts. The former settled in Kytai or Kutais, the present capital of Mingrelia, and his children welcomed Jason, the leader of the Argonauts, who landed with his comrades at the mouth of the Phasis, and traversed the territory of Circe. According to Herodotus, Jason carried off the treasures of Æëtes and his daughter Medea, whom the Greeks declined to restore. To avenge this insult, Darius Hystaspes took up arms against the Greeks.

Alexander of Macedon, on his march to India, completed the subjugation of Georgia, (Iberia,) and Tzcheta was the only town

which offered him a long and heroic resistance. After the conquest of the town, he ordered the walls to be levelled with the ground ; all the children below the age of fifteen to be killed, and the inhabitants carried off as prisoners. One of his captains, Ason by name, he appointed governor of Iberia. Before any great lapse of time, however, Pharnaces, a descendant of the almost extinct royal family, found a hidden treasure, with which he raised a numerous band of partisans. He took up arms against Ason, and, after killing him, restored the independence of his country.

Mithridates, King of Pontus and the Bosphorus, took possession of Colchis and Abasia ; and Atagus, King of Iberia, and Oraces, King of Albania, became tributary to him. Tigranes, King of Armenia, and his son-in-law, supported him in his war against the Romans. He was defeated by Pompey, 65 B.C., when he fled to the mountains of the Caucasus ; while Athalus, the governor of Colchis, graced the victor's triumphal procession.

The Romans subjugated Georgia and Colchis, but these countries were of very little service to them, and they contented themselves with the nomination of the kings selected from the people. This state of things lasted till the overthrow of the Roman Empire.

The apostles, Simon of Cana, and Andrew, preached in Abasia and Colchis, but apparently with slight success. As Strabo had an uncle, Moaphernes, who was one of the prefects of King Mithridates, this circumstance materially assisted him in obtaining accurate accounts of the Caucasus. "Iberia," he states, "was inhabited by four different castes of men. To the first belong the kings ; to the second, the priests ; to the third, the husbandmen ; and to the fourth, the servants or slaves."

Strabo speaks of the Kerketæ or Terutæ, who are the Tcherkess of the present day ; of the Soanes ; of the Legæ, who are now known by the name of the Lesghis ; and of the Aorsi, who are, with great probability, the Avarians on the Caspian Sea (*Aior* in the Scythian language means *man*).

The Albanians were the neighbours of the two latter tribes.

The Aorsi carried on commerce with India, and aided the Romans in annihilating the Siraces.

The river Kuban was called by Strabo the Hypanis, and the mountain chain he mentions as Koh-chaf, or Casp. The Pilæ Caspiæ of Pliny are found in the pass of Dariel, which Ptolemæus calls "the Sarmatian Gate." A few remains of a wall have indeed led to the inference that a gate formerly existed in this defile, which could be closed and defended with such ease, that a single man could check the passage of a whole army.

The ancients called the river Kur, the Cyrus: the Koïssu, the Cassius: and the river Jorak or Jorrochi, by the name of the Apsarus. The present Rion was the Glauchus of Strabo, the Surium of Pliny, and the Rheone of Procopius. The river called by the ancients the Phasis, now bears the name of Kvirila. The Romans believed that the Cyrus and the Rion were navigable, and that the Indian trade could be carried by this route; but it is now proved, that these rivers had only sufficient depth of water for vessels at their mouths.

The information relative to the Caucasus, handed down to us by the Byzantine historiographers, is remarkably scanty. Constantine, however, was acquainted with the Abkasians or Abchasians, and the Zichæ. Procopius gave the Alans the name of Goths, and Eustathius informs us that their name signified "inhabitants of the mountains." Massudi, Eben-Haucal, and Jakaut, are our chief Arabic sources of information; but they are notorious for their love of exaggeration and credulity, and must, therefore, be read with caution.

To narrate in a few words what is derived from these sources, we will mention that they call the Caucasus "Kabokh," a word which has considerable affinity with the Chabkoth of the Armenians, and which is also found again in the Kabardah, which the Tcherkess distinguish by the name of Aghlo-Cabac. The province of Schirvan derived its name from that of the Persian prince, to whom King Nuschirevan intrusted the administration of that country. Kosroë confirmed several Caucasian princes in their governments, and invested them with the title of Schah. Herarzan-Schah, Tilan-Schah, Tabarseran-Schah, Charijan-

Schah, and Tran-Schah, were the princes of Nodi and Zeren-gerah.

In the country of the Lesghis, the Arabian authors make mention of two towns, Tachar and Sinass, and add that the inhabitants lived on Yult, a species of corn, which bears some resemblance in appearance to barley, but tastes like wheat. Iran, a province of the Caucasus, was situated between Derbend and Schirvan. Arran was the name of the country extending from the Araxes to Derbend; but at the present time the name is restricted to the strip of land between the Araxes and the Kur. The Caspian Sea was then known by the name of the "Sea of the Chazars," but it was also called Schirvan Guilan, and after other provinces in its immediate vicinity. Derbend was called the city of the Gates—El Bah-el-Evab—the city with the iron gates.

Kesora Nuschirevan, in order to protect his dominions from the inroads of the Chazars, Alans, and other barbarous nations, is said to have built a wall through the whole of the Caucasus, and defended it with iron gates and towers at those places where roads intersected it. There were twelve of them, and their defence was intrusted to the several tribes.

The Georgia of the present day was called in former times Djorsan, which the Arabians took possession of in the year 650 B.C., and held Tiflis in their power till 514. The Arabians were also acquainted with the Abchasians, who were Christians, and tributary to the Alans and the Chalifes. The present town Tarku was formerly called Samander, and was under this name the principal city of the Chazars. This tribe was settled along the Kur, and carried on sanguinary wars with the Arabians and Persians. In their constitution the principle was dominant, that the king should reign but not govern (*le Roi regne mais ne gouverne pas*). The government was in the hands of a regent, who called himself the successor of the king. The court was Israelite; but there were as many Muhammadans among the Chazars as there were Pagans and Christians. Silan was a town in Chazar; but the title of Silan-schah belonged to the King of Serir.

Conterminous with Serir was the country called Sirhguiran, a word signifying in Persian "the manufacturers of breastplates," and Reinegg, in his description of the Caucasus, finds their descendants in the Curtjis, a race of famous armourers, who assert that they are of Christian origin. To the north of Serir lay the country of the Kumyks of the present day, who, till the eighteenth century, were Jews. The chief city of the Alans was Margar, and the king of that country maintained an army of 30,000 horsemen. The Kajakis are the inhabitants of the Casatjia; or the actual Tcherkess. The Arabians admired their beauty, and spoke in high terms of praise of the Tala, a species of linen which the Kajakis made, and which was sold at a very high price.

Oleg, a Russian prince, interdicted the Severian and Slavonic tribes from paying tribute to the Chazars. Sviatoslar carried on a war in 965 against the Chosarvians, took their fortress Belaia-Bess, which had been built by Greek engineers, and ravaged the town of Samander. A short time afterwards the Russians seized on Taman or Tamartagas, a city belonging to the Chazars on the Bosphorus, and changed its name to Tmutorokan. In the year 1022, Mistislar waged war against the Kajakis, and rendered them tributary in the ensuing year. They fought afterwards beneath his banners against duke Jaroslav, his brother.

In the year 1222, the Mongolians made their first inroad into the Caucasus: one of the chieftains of Jengis Khan's army received the submission of the Prince of Georgia, who resided in Tauris, and the plain of Mughan was for many years the object of the Mongolian expeditions. In addition to this, Tjutji, another chieftain of the Khan's, crossed the Caucasus by means of the pass of Derbend, and subjugated the Alans.

In the following century another powerful warrior rose among the Mongolians. Timur, whose name signifies "iron," received in the year 1386 on the plains of Karabak the submission of the Prince of Georgia, who was suffered to retain his throne, under the condition that he abjured Christianity. The Prince of Schirvan brought him nine times nine presents, for nine is a

sacred number among the Mongolians. Thaherten, Prince of Armenia, dared to oppose him, and after a siege of nineteen days, the fortress of Van fell into the hands of the Mongolians. The brave defenders were hurled down an abyss, and the walls pulled down—a very laborious task, for which no less than ten thousand men were required.

In the year 1399, Timur marched on his retreat from Persia against Melek Gurgin, Prince of Georgia, who refused to deliver up to him the fugitive Prince of Bagdad. Melek intrenched himself in the mountains, and in order to conquer him, Timur employed the same method he had found so successful on his passage across the Indian mountains. Ropes three hundred yards in length were manufactured, and baskets fastened to them, in which soldiers were stationed and let down in the neighbourhood of the Circassian hiding-places. The Mongolians then either drove the Tcherkess away with their darts, or set fire to their places of refuge. After Timur had in this manner subdued the mountaineers, he ordered all the fortresses to be demolished, and the inhabitants destroyed.

According to Strabo, and the Arabians who wrote after him, there are seventy-two different tribes in the Caucasus, or the same number as Russia contains. At the present moment the number of the Circassian clans is still very great,—a fact which can only be explained by the hypothesis, that the mountains of the Caucasus served as an asylum for the remnants of all the various migrations. It is also very probable that no small number of the Crusaders sought shelter in the Caucasus; and the immense quantity of arms, which from this date began to be found among the Tcherkess, appears to confirm this view, unless we prefer the supposition, that the mountaineers obtained them from the Ottomans.

The Christian missionaries, who at different times visited the Mongolians, Chinese, and Hindus, also passed through various portions of the Caucasus, and have imparted to us the knowledge of the country they derived in this manner, which, however, has been greatly augmented by the statements of other travellers, as well as by consulting the Georgian and Armenian chronicles.

After the Genoese had founded colonies in the Crimea, they extended their commerce over Astrakhan to Persia, and had mines worked in Mingrelia on their account. In the year 1475, however, Kaffa fell into the power of the Turks, and the communication by this route between the East and Europe was destroyed.

CHAPTER III,

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CAUCASUS.

DERIVATION OF THE NAME CAUCASUS.—EXTENT.—MOUNTAINS.—THE PASSES.—
 THE BLACK SEA.—THE CASPIAN SEA.—RIVERS.—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.—
 THE TOWNS OF THE CAUCASUS: TIFLIS, TZCHETA, GORI, KUTAIS, REDUT-
 KALEH, SUCHUM-KALEH, ISUKSA, ANAPA, ERIVAN, STAVROPOL, MOSDOK, KIS-
 LIAR, PIATIGORSK, GEORGIEVSK, BAKU, DERBEND, KUBAN.—INDIAN FIRE-
 WORSHIPPERS.

THE word Caucasus is, according to Pliny, derivable from the Scythian word Graukasus, signifying “white with snow.” Nothing, however, has been brought forward in support of this derivation. We consider it more in accordance with analogy, to derive the word from Koh Chaf, or Casp, meaning the Caspian mountains. The Turks call it Kaf Daghi, the latter word signifying a mountain. The natives themselves call it Elb-rouss, a Persian word, which means mountains of ice.

The chain of the Caucasus extends from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and is divided into two portions, northern and southern. Its extreme length from Anapa to Baku is 150, but its breadth only 15, geographical miles, if the lower Caucasus—that is, Ararat—is omitted from the mensuration. The highest mountains are the Elbrouss and the Kasbeck. The height of the first, Lang states to be 16,330 feet; and that of the second, according to Parrot and Engelhardt, is 14,400.

The Circassians give the Elbrouss the name of Djin-Padischah, or ruler of the spirits, and also Noghai Hoja, meaning the mountain of the Noghais (Tartars). The Tartars themselves call it Kaf Dag; but in the Hungarian language, from which the word Elbrouss may possibly be derived, Elboruloz means, “cast

thymself down before this sacred mountain." The Kasbeck is called by the natives Mkinvari, or Urs Coch, which signifies "the white mountain." The word Kasbeck has originated several errors, which are sufficiently important to merit discussion.

Klaproth writes in his description of the Caucasus : "Gamba is mistaken in his opinion that it was General Kasbeck who gave his name to the village and the mountain ;" and the anonymous author of the "Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia," states : "When we reached the place called Kasibeck, we were very politely received by Colonel Kasibeck, who is so called from the mountain of that name, at the foot of which he resides."

It is certainly possible that a general should give his name to a mountain ; for in the map published in St. Petersburg by General Schubert, the mountain Merkotschi is so called after the name of General Wilyaminoff, who is so well known in the Caucasus. But Kasbeck is no proper name, but is the Persian title of Kasi Bey or Beg, hereditary in the family of Zobitjan Tjvili, which is intrusted with the defence of the pass and the administration of the plains in the district of Chebi, on the upper Terek. The Russians gave the steppe, the mountain, and the village, the name of Stephan Zminda Kasbeck, and as the Zobitjan family, which is of Ossetic origin, has entered the Russian service, it can be no matter of surprise if a traveller formed the acquaintance of a colonel of the name of Kasbeck.

The Elbrouss is remarkable for its two peaks, while the Kasbeck has only one, of a conical form. The former mountain was scaled on the 23rd July, 1829, by a Kabardian, Khillar, who formed part of the expedition General Emmanuel undertook for the express purpose. According to a tradition, Noah's ark rested on the Elbrouss before reaching Ararat, and the cradle of our Saviour is to be found on the Kasbeck, where it stands above the tent of Abraham, which is suspended in the air. The same tradition states that there is a large amount of treasure concealed on this mountain ; but all those who have tried to discover it have been immediately punished by the loss of sight. The natives look upon these mountains as deities, and pay them

divine honours. The Ossetians pay especial reverence to the Sigara, or peaks of the Brut Salsdi.

The highest peaks are generally called the white or snowy mountains, while, by the name of the "black mountains," are meant those of secondary rank, and which are on either side of the chain, near the Black and Caspian Seas. To the east of the Elbrouss a group of five mountains rises, which is called very correctly Beshdagh (*vulg.* Bejtau), for *besh* means five, and *dagh* a mountain. In Russian the same group is called Piätigorie, from *piät* five, and *gora* mountain. The Majut is the highest of them: then comes the Gelesnaya Gora or Iron Mountain, and the Smeinaya Gora, or Mountain of Serpents. To the east of these are situated Barbel, Schah Dagħ, Dast Dagħ, Barba Dagħ, and, finally, in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, Besh Barnaki Dagħ, or the Mountain of the Five Fingers, whose height is 3000 feet.

The Kasbeck is of volcanic formation, and its declivities are covered with lava and scoria. Porphyry in the upper strata and granite below it form the nucleus, which on the eastern side merges into strata of lime or clay.

Six passes intersect the higher portion of the Caucasian chain, of which, however, only two are in general use. One of them is the pass of Dariel, which General Todleben first traversed with a convoy of ammunition and military stores, and which was known to the ancients by the name of "Portæ Caucasæ." The other route runs along the Caspian Sea, and through the pass of Derbend, from Kisliar to Baku. The most convenient communication with the Caucasus, however, is effected by water. We must here remark that the Black Sea did not derive its ominous name from the colour of its water, but from the terrible storms which rage there during the greater portion of the year. The sailors of antiquity were notorious for their fear of the Pontus Euxinus, and, in fact, countless accidents have taken place on this sea. The most remarkable in modern times occurred in the year 1838, when several Russian ships were driven on shore, near Suchum Kaleh. The Caspian Sea is, probably, even more dangerous for navigation, and we shall have an opportunity to return to this subject presently.

As the Caucasus is bathed by these two seas, the Russians find no difficulty in asserting their supremacy over the two opposite coasts of the country, and in carrying on the war without interruption. In fact, while the stores they require are brought to them with great facility, they can cut off the enemy's communication by means of a strict blockade. The result, however, has not responded to the anticipations which were formed, and the expense for garrisons and ships far exceeded the amount which was at first considered sufficient.

The Russians bring their provisions down the Volga, and derive their ammunition from Siberia. Both articles, however, are rarely of the best quality; for, as they pass through the hands of various agents, their condition is considerably deteriorated before they reach the place of consumption. Nor must we omit mentioning, that the English and Turks found means, in spite of the blockade, to provide the Tcherkess with ammunition through the port of Suchum Kaleh.

There is no sea without rivers which pour their waters into it. These rivers are so many arteries, which bear the enemy into the heart of the country. The rivers of the Caucasus, however, all have a narrow bed, and the majority of them a very rapid current, which is unsuited for navigation. Rising but a short distance from the sea, they hurry along their stony bed towards it. Besides this, in the spring they overflow their banks, and large tracts of land are under water.

Another peculiarity of the Caucasus is the want of lakes, of which there is only a small one on Mount Khoi, through the whole extent of the country. The reason for this may be found in the fact, that the mountains are too precipitous and too close together, to allow water to collect and remain stationary between them.

The three largest rivers of the Caucasus are the Kuban, the Terek, and the Kur. The first rises in the Elbrouss, and, after flowing a distance of 500 versts, divides into three arms, two of which fall into the sea of Azov, the other into the Euxine. The little and great Selenjuck, the Laba, and the Urub, are confluent of the Kuban. The Terek rises in the Kasbeck, and flows a

distance of 400 versts. It traverses the pass of Dariel, and falls into the Caspian Sea at Kisliar. Its principal confluent is the Malka and the Suntja.

The Kur flows for a distance of 800 versts. It is the deepest of all, but generally very narrow. It rises in Turkey in the mountains of Kars, and after receiving the Hippus, Tjeni-Tjali, and the Kririla, falls into the Black Sea at Poti. The Koïssu traverses Daghistan under the names of Andi, Avar, Kara, Kasi Kumyk, Koïssu, and Sulak.

In natural productions Caucasia is not so rich as it might become with proper cultivation and a season of peace. It possesses a great abundance of mineral wealth, which, however, has till now been turned to no advantage. The forests are extensive and magnificent, and consist of oak, beech, chestnut, walnut, and fig, trees, and in addition to these, wild mulberry-trees grow in great profusion. Peach, apricot, apple, pear, and cherry trees, are cultivated with great care.

The wheat of Derbend is well known for its large kind of grain, and general fertility. In addition to this, rye, wheat, millet, and tobacco, are planted, and every variety of vegetable grows well. The inhabitants of the northern Caucasus sow wheat, barley, millet, and Indian corn.

Of the productions of the animal kingdom, we must give the chief place to the horses, which are remarkable not only for their beauty, but for their long endurance of fatigue. The mountain oxen are also harnessed like the donkeys or mules, and employed as carriers. The sheep are principally of the Kalmuck breed, with large heavy tails. Among the wild beasts of the Caucasus are found bears, wolves, jackals, panthers, boars, foxes, stags, antelopes, buffaloes, wild-cats, moles of a very large size, &c. Pheasants are shot and killed in large quantities, in the dry osier beds, thickets, and forests. There are also eagles of the usual size, various breeds of falcons, hawks, wild-pigeons, and deer, &c.

We will conclude this chapter with a cursory glance at the principal towns in Caucasia.

Tiflis, according to the Georgian chronology, was built in the

year 453 of the Christian æra. The old city lay on the right bank of the Kur, and was destroyed by the Persian Schah, Aga Muhammad Khan. The new town, situated on the left bank, has only been in existence since the Russians settled here. Its name, Tiphliissi, is derived from the hot springs and mineral waters which bubble out beneath a bridge near the entrance to the town. Tiflis has about 30,000 inhabitants. In its general aspect it bears some resemblance to Prague, and with reference to the mode of living and the commerce which goes on there, is similar to Cairo. The streets are not so handsome as the squares or market-places. It contains forty-three churches, but the domes of the Armenian and Georgian churches are conical, and not round like those of the Russian churches.

The palace of the governor-general in the new town is a handsome building, which was erected from the ruins of the old palace of the Georgian kings, and the gardens which surround it are open on Sunday to the public. The theatre, which was commenced a short time back, is probably completed by this time. There is also a botanic garden, but it will require many improvements before it deserves the name. The bazaar, which is the meeting-place of the numerous population formed of so many different elements, offers an interesting and highly attractive scene. Here are seen the Georgian and Armenian, the Immeritian and the Circassian, the Russian soldier and the Tartar; all easily distinguished by their different garb. Here Europe and Asia are mingled together, and display the most striking contrast between their physiognomies and language. Turks, Tartars, Spanish-speaking Jews, and German-spluttering colonists, carry on their business here. The artisans work in the open streets, near the tradesmen who sell their productions.

The Georgian woman with her black eyes, her aquiline nose, and painted cheeks, looks, either with or without her *jadra*, or veil, much better at a distance than when near, and handsomer on the terrace of a house than in the street. Ida Pfeiffer is perfectly correct in saying, that the Persian harems are filled with more beautiful women than the Turkish are, though there are many Circassians in the latter. The Persian woman, in

truth, is the Frenchwoman of the east, through her amiability; while the Circassian, with her regular features, may be regarded as the Italian.

There is no lack of wood in Georgia, although this is the case in Armenia, and the neighbourhood of Baku. This will be the best opportunity to tell our readers in what manner the inhabitants of the Caucasus warm their abodes. Stoves are a great rarity, and even chimneys are not to be met with every where. A vessel filled with burning charcoal is placed under a table covered with a cloth; the persons visiting the house sit round this table, and their feet are warmed by the heat issuing from the vessel. As the shoes worn by the natives are very light, they are easily penetrated by the heat; but, at the same time, this mode of heating is accompanied by some very considerable evils.

On the road from Tiflis to Kutaïs the first post is Tzcheta, the ancient capital of Iberia, and the next Gori, which was formerly a larger town than Tiflis. Gori is situated on the Liachva, whose water is greatly celebrated; probably because that of all the other streams is bad and unhealthy.

With reference to the women of Gori, the following tradition is current. "Allah," the legend says, "wished to stock his celestial harem with the fairest daughters of earth. He therefore commissioned an Imam, who was a great connoisseur in female beauty, to cull for him forty of the loveliest women he could find. The Imam journeyed to Frankistan, into the country of the Ingliz, whence he carried off the king's daughter. The English monarch pursued him; but Allah, who protected his servant, threw dust in the eyes of the pursuer, and thus checked him. From England the Imam proceeded to Germany, where he selected many lovely maidens; but when he reached Gori, he fell in love with one of the beauties he had chosen for the celestial harem, and remained there with the whole bevy. Allah punished the treachery of the Imam by death, but the beautiful maidens all remained in Gori, where they assisted in the procreation of a splendid race of mortals."

Kutaïs is the capital of Immeritia, and is situated on the Rion.

It is remarkable for the antiquities which are to be found in its vicinity, although some of them are not what they are believed to be. Thus, for instance, in the convent of Gelati, the traveller is shown the cemetery of King David, and one wing of the iron gate, which the inhabitants of the convent insist that he carried off from Derbend, although the Coptic inscription on the gate dates from the æra of the emir of Tabin, and states that it was brought to this place from Ani, the ancient capital of Mingrelia. This half gate is thirteen feet high, and six in breadth.

In Mingrelia there is not a single place that deserves the name of a town. Even Sukdidè, the winter, and Isalchino, the summer residence of the princes, are nothing but miserable villages. Redut Kaleh is a poor seaport, which was opened in 1827. The Russian government pays for the privilege of carrying on trade here, an annual sum of 2300 silver rubles to the Prince of Mingrelia.

Suchum Kaleh, situated in the Abchasian territory, is a place of more importance. Taken by the Russians in the year 1810, it ought, by the treaty of 1811, to have been restored to Turkey with the other districts. However, as the war assumed a more favourable aspect in 1812, orders were sent not to deliver up these harbours. The command, however, came too late, except for the retention of Suchum Kaleh, which was not restored, and has since remained in the hands of the Russians.

Isuksa, the capital of Abchasia, is a town of no consequence. Anapa was built by the Turks in 1784. Six years later, General Bibikof tried to take this fortress by storm, but was repulsed. In 1791, however, General Gudovitch captured it after a siege of six weeks; and on the 29th April, 1807, the Russian squadron, under the command of Traversey and Pastoshkin, forced it to surrender in a single day. It was again taken in 1809, and for the last time by Prince Mentschikoff, in 1828. By the treaty of Adrianople, Anapa became definitively an integral portion of the Russian dominions. Under the Turkish government it was the chief emporium of the Circassian slave trade.

Erivan is the capital of Russian Armenia. The fortress was built by the Turks in 1582, and taken by the Persians in 1604,

who increased its strength so greatly, that the Turks in 1615, and the Russians under Zizianoff in 1804, were compelled to raise the siege. Paskievitch, however, was more fortunate in 1827, for he was supported by the Armenians, who desired to become Russian subjects in consequence of their religious affinity. At last, when a bullet struck the cathedral in which the inhabitants had taken shelter, they were seized with a superstitious fear, and surrendered the town.

• There were formerly two Armenian churches, very handsomely built of coloured bricks. The Russians converted one of them into an arsenal, and the other into a Greek church. The harem of the Serdars of Erivan has been metamorphosed into barracks ; and at the same place, where the Odaliskues formerly reclined, inhaling the fragrance of flowers and perfumes, the Russian soldiers now diffuse their peculiar odour. The town itself is dirty and badly built, but there is a splendid view from the citadel over the surrounding country. There are some very splendid apartments in the citadel, which are adorned with mirrors and the portraits of the Persian Schahs.

Stavropol, the capital of Cis-caucasia, was founded in 1777, but was not raised to the rank of a town till 1785. Its situation is high and healthy, and it protects the country between the Kumak and the Kuban. Two fairs are held here annually, at which considerable quantities of merchandise are disposed of. In the vicinity of the town is a prison, in which all the criminals of the entire province are confined. They work here in the open air, and are generally loaded with heavy chains. Stavropol is situated on the Atjile, and is surrounded by Kalmuks, nomadic Noghais, and Cossack stanitzas. The garden, forming a portion of the governor's hotel, owes its beauty to General Emmanuel. This town is now of no great importance, but it may eventually become so.

The government of Stavropol is formed of four districts: Stavropol, Piätigorsk, Mosdok, and Kisliar. Mosdok, built on the frontier of the Kabardah in 1764, contains 4500 inhabitants, and is situated on the banks of the Terek. Kisliar was built during the reign of the Empress Anne, and lies at a distance of

seventy versts from the Caspian Sea. It derives its name from an arm of the Terek, and signifies in the Tartar language "a drowned maiden." It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, and a considerable amount of trade is carried on. Piätigorsk is celebrated for its mineral waters.

Georgievsk has lost its former importance since 1822, when the seat of government was transferred to Stavropol, and since Piätigorsk has become the chief town of the district. Mosdok has also suffered considerably, since the high-road to Tiflis was carried through Stavropol.

Baku or Badku (the Mountain of the Winds) is continually exposed to a violent northern wind, and the climate is generally bad. The town contains 800 houses, 4000 inhabitants, and a garrison of 400 soldiers. The port of Baku, built by Peter the Great, is of considerable strength, and was formerly washed by the sea, which has gradually retired. The harbour is good, and the bazaar handsomer than the one at Derbend. The Maiden's Tower is a very remarkable building, erected to keep off the inroads of the Truchmenes on the eastern shore. The two coasts of the Caspian Sea were formerly connected by an isthmus, which divided it into two seas, and of which the Island of Nargin formed a portion: but at the present time the sea is deeper round this island than elsewhere. A town of the name of Schava also appears to have existed here in ancient times, but every trace of it has disappeared. Baku carries on a considerable trade with Persia, from which country silks, carpets, and the wines of Shamachi, are obtained. These wines have much similarity with the better sorts of the south of France, and their preparation merits greater attention than is paid to them.

Russian products are very dear in Baku, but on the other hand fruit is extraordinarily cheap. Grapes are sold for about one penny a pound, and a gallon of wine can be purchased for about four shillings and sixpence. There is a great scarcity of vegetables, and, as no great quantity of corn is grown, food for cattle is very dear. In the neighbourhood large quantities of naphtha are found, which is used to coat the roofs of the houses,

although it does not render them quite waterproof against the incessant spring rains. Naphtha is also burnt instead of candles, but the smell is very unpleasant. As there are no corn crops here, the bread is not of a first-rate quality.

Twelve versts from Baku, on the peninsula of Apscheron, there is a colony of Indian fire-worshippers. They keep up a whitish yellow flame, which exudes from the ground. It is free from the unpleasant qualities possessed by naphtha, and appears to be alimented by hydrogen gas. On the walls of their temples the flames are seen burning, and in the interior the whole of the ground is covered with little jets. If a quantity of atmospheric air is here compressed, and then brought into contact with fire, a tremendous explosion takes place. These Indians are in the habit of amusing their visitors with experiments of this nature.

Derbend contains 1800 houses, and 26,000 inhabitants. Its climate is mortal for the Russian garrison, which loses nearly one half of its number annually by fevers and contagious diseases. The majority of the inhabitants are Tartars. The town itself is in a very picturesque situation. It extends along a narrow strait of the sea towards the mountains, is surrounded by a wall, and defended by a citadel. The palace of the Schah is in ruins, and there are a number of Medjeds, whose minarets improve the appearance of the town.

Kuban, on the river of the same name, is the chief place in the important district of Daghistan. This district contains about three hundred villages.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRIBES OF THE CAUCASUS.

THE NUMBER OF THE POPULATION—BEAUTY OF THE CIRCASSIAN RACE—ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME TCHERKÈSS—THE ADIGHE—LESGHIS—TCHETCHENZES—ABCHASIANS—UBYCHS—TCHIGETES—OSSETIANS—SUANES—INGUSHIS—KABARDIANS—BALKARIANS—RISINGLI—GEORGIANS OR GRUSINIANS—IMMERITIANS—MINGRELIANS—ARMENIANS—TARTARS OR NOGHAI—KUMYKS—COSSACKS—MAGYARI—GERMAN COLONISTS—THE ÆGYPTIAN MAMLUKS.

THE number of the entire population of the Caucasus can only be given approximatively ; for the Tcherkess laugh at the custom among other nations, of counting men like a herd of cattle. The Russian lists only possess a certain value as regards subjugated tribes, and the population of the whole isthmus varies, according to different authors, from one and a half to three millions. The truth is probably, as in many other cases, in the medium ; and we believe, after a comparison of the different statements that have been made on this subject, that we shall be nearest the truth if we assume a population of rather over two millions.

But if the number of fighting Tcherkess could be raised at the commencement of the war to 700,000, this is no longer the case, for the Kabardah has since declined to take part in the war. This number would certainly allow a population of three and a half millions to be inferred, if we could assume that all the men capable of bearing arms are actually warriors. But this is not the case ; for, although women are sometimes seen fighting in the ranks of the Tcherkess, the peasants are only called to arms in exceptional cases, and consequently, after taking into account the latest acquisitions Russia has formed

from Turkey and Persia, the population under the authority of the governor-general of Tiflis cannot be estimated at more than three millions.

The greater portion of this population, however, is either at peace, or allied, with the Russians. The Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, and Immeritians, are on the side of the Russians, who have formed a body of militia among the Ossetians, Georgians, and other tribes. We have, therefore, fair grounds to take a cipher from the above 700,000, and to reduce it to 70,000.

If by the title of the Caucasian race, which is applied to the whole population of Europe, it were meant that all the inhabitants of Europe came from the Caucasus, this would be a great error; for this chain of mountains could never have had a population to render such an immense migration possible. In addition to this, many tribes which are now inhabitants of the Caucasus, are the children of another soil; and we consequently mean by the Caucasian race only the regular type of the white race.

The beauty of the Tcherkess, which is really surprising, has, however, been praised rather too highly, and the renown which they have acquired on this account is, in reality, only shared by the higher classes and the females; for the great body of the population is not free from ugly and ill-shapen individuals, although they are not met with in so large a ratio as in other countries. The Circassians have contrived to keep themselves as free as possible from any commingling with other races; and it is a very remarkable fact, that when such a fusion has taken place, the Circassian blood has retained its predominance, and the inferior class has gained by it. There is not a trace of the visit paid by the Kabardians to the Crimea, or of the commingling of the Chazar with the Tartar blood; while the Circassian women have rendered great assistance in beautifying the Turks and Russians. This fact is permanently confirmed in the stanitza Tchermenaya, whose original colonists—Russian soldiers—carried off Circassian wives; for a race of men has sprung from this connection who are far superior to their neighbours in beauty.

We will now proceed to an examination of the several Caucasian tribes, and will commence with the explanation, that the

Circassians do not call themselves Tcherkess, a word which in the Turkish language signifies "robbers, or cut-throats." In other languages this word is a corruption of "Circetes," the title given in antiquity to one of the most numerous Circassian tribes. *Tcher* means in Persian a warrior, and *Kes*, somebody. The Russians call all the mountaineers by the collective name of Tcherkess; they are divided into many tribes, among which the Adighè, or Adechè (the nobles), occupy the first rank, and are regarded as the purest Circassian race. Pagans are much more numerous among them than Muhammadans, and only the nobles and princes have embraced the confession of Islam. The peasants worship a god of thunder and of war, Thiblè: a god of fire, a god of water, a god of the forest, and a god of travellers. They regard the law of the blood-revenge, and exercise the rights of hospitality and shelter, which is the case with all the Circassian tribes. They consider celibacy and corpulence to be a disgrace. The princes divide the land with the nobles. The warriors form a distinct caste; and, although all the peasants bear arms, they only march into the field on extraordinary occasions. These different classes are distinguished by the colour of their slippers or shoes. Those worn by the princes are red, by the nobles, yellow, and by the peasants, black.

As regards marriage customs, virgins are sewn up in deer skins, which the bridegroom cuts open on the marriage night with his dagger. Their slaves are prisoners captured in war. The Adechè are natives of Kuban, and Anapa is the most important town in their territory.

The Lesghis inhabit Daghistan, and cause the Russians the most trouble. They are subdivided into a great number of tribes, and their whole number amounts to about four hundred thousand.

The Tchetchenzes at the most amount to twenty-five thousand; but, in spite of that, are in a state of almost continual revolt against the Russians, by whom they are no sooner defeated than they commence their inroads again. The Russians have attempted to write the Circassian language by employing the Turkish alphabet; but the universal language among the Cau-

casian tribes, who each possess a different dialect, is the Tartar, or the Turkish.

The Abchasians are distinguished from the above-mentioned tribes, not only by their features, but by their customs. Less warlike than the Circassians, they are more inclined to acknowledge the Russian authority; but they are the oldest inhabitants of the Caucasus, and are said to be descendants of the Abyssinians. In religious matters they are quite indifferent; and, although Christianity was introduced among them in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, their religion is still nothing but a mixture of Paganism and Islamism. They pay special reverence to the oak. The monarchical principle has taken very deep root amongst them; but the present dynasty is more attached to the interests of the Russians than to those of the nation.

The Ubychs and Jigetes form the confederation of the Shapsugs, and are two warlike tribes who live along the coast of the Black Sea. As we will show presently, they have repulsed many of the Russian generals, and have taken several of their forts.

The Ossetians are the Jazygi of the Russians, and consequently a Slavonic race. Although they opposed the attempt, in the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, to convert them to Christianity, this is no longer the case, for the number of converts is greater than that of the whole population. This has its origin in the circumstance, that one and the same individual, seduced by the rewards offered by the Russian government, which consist of a silver ruble, a cross of the same material, and a few articles of clothing, allowed himself to be converted at different times and various places—a trick which was rendered considerably easier of accomplishment, through the carelessness with which the priests keep their register. But, although so frequently converted to Christianity, the Ossetians have always remained good Mussulmans.

At the foot of the Elbrouss, on the river Inkar, and extending nearly forty geographical miles, lies Suanethia, a country where the winter lasts nearly nine months. The Suanians, or inhabitants of this district, are tall and powerful, and can endure

immense privations and fatigue. They are industrious and peaceable as long as the country provides them with the necessities of life; but when that is not the case, they plunder, and sell their children as slaves.

Christian temples are found in their territory, as is the case among the Abchasians; and it is asserted that they were built by Thamar, Queen of Georgia. The Suanians are, however, very slightly, perhaps not at all, imbued with religious sentiments. The Suanians conceal their wives very carefully, which is quite contrary to the practice among the Lesghis. Polygamy, however, is not allowed among them, and every one is bound to marry his brother's widow.

The Ingushis are also Pagans, although traces of primitive Christianity may be found in their manners and customs. They observe Sunday, and several other holidays of the Greek church. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a future life, while the Suanians believe in transmigration.

Kabardah is divided by the Terek into two parts, called the Greater and Lesser Kabardah. This country, which is very accessible to the Russians, is entirely subject to them; but in spite of that, the inhabitants are in their hearts good Mussulmans. Their customs have great similarity with those of the Adechè; and their princes are of Arabic descent. Even in the time of Louis Quatorze, the Russian czars considered themselves lords of the Kabardah, as is proved by a remark that monarch let fall.

The Karatshai, Balkarians, and Risingli, assert that they are descendants of the Magyars: but their language is very different from the Hungarian; and, as regards their physical resemblance to the Magyars, the same is also found among the Cossacks.

The Georgians, called by the Russians Grusinians, could never be converted to Islamism, through their extraordinary partiality for pork and wine; but the Georgians of the district of Achal Ziche were converted by compulsion, while the Armenians enjoy perfect religious liberty.

The Georgians are an agricultural nation; and their ploughs

are frequently drawn by ten or twelve oxen or buffaloes; but their houses are miserable huts. They manufacture silk, and rear large herds of cattle. Their bridges over the Kur are built after the same simple fashion as was practised in the time of Cambyses. Hides of the same species as those employed for the manufacture of wine-skins, are sewn together, blown out, and hermetically closed; then they are fastened together, so as to cover the river from one bank to the other, and boards are laid upon them.

The Georgians soon attain puberty, and their daughters are married at the age of eleven, and become mothers.

The Georgian costume bears an affinity to the Persian and Circassian. The outer coat is called the kaba, and covers the arholuh and the jarvali, which has also become the fashion in Russia. Shirts are made of silk or cotton. The Georgians dye their hair, and display as much skill in the process as the Persians do.

The Immeritians, like the Georgians and Mingrelians, form part of the Kartvel race, although their languages do not bear any resemblance. The Immeritians wear the Persian costume, with the exception of the cap, which is formed of a piece of cloth fitting very closely to the head, and frequently richly adorned with silver. It is fastened under the chin with a strap, for the least puff of wind would blow it off. As it is no protection against the cold, they allow their hair to grow very long and thick, and dye it of a red colour, while the beard retains its natural blackness. The Immeritians cultivate the vine, and even surpass the Georgians in their partiality for wine; their drinking bouts are accompanied by the chanting of hymns. Their mode of dancing, like that of the Circassians and Persians, does not consist of rapid evolutions, but is confined to graceful attitudes and simple movements of the feet. Although they are Christians, they venerate all the old images of their gods, and sacrifice animals principally on the graves of their dead.

Chevalier de Gamba, who lived for a long time in Kutais, asserts that he was the first to introduce the cultivation of corn among the inhabitants; before this time only maize was grown.

At the present time the Immeritians make bread, which is quite as bad as that which may be procured in Daghistan.

Mingrelia was the Colchis of the ancients. Ruins are still visible; but the rivers no longer appear to produce gold. The country is poor, and the only valuable production is a species of wood called Jinai, which is very hard and well adapted for ship-building; but considerably more profit might be derived from it than is at present the case. The princes of this country, who are called Dadiani, are entirely devoted to Russian interests, scarcely bestow a thought on the welfare of their country, and the people vegetate in utter ignorance of the most common necessities of life. Since Chardin's time, however, who did not even find the use of money to be prevalent among them, this country has made some slight progress.

The two provinces of Erivan and Nachitjevan were incorporated with Russia by the treaty of Turkmantjai in 1828, and now form part of the government of the Caucasus. The Araxes forms the southern frontier of Russian Armenia, which contains a population of 165,000 inhabitants. The Armenians have acquired a great reputation by their skilfulness in commercial matters; in fact, they are not only the exclusive traders through a great portion of the Caucasus, but also possess large settlements for the promotion of trade through the whole of Russia, where their number may be estimated at about 400,000. There is a Turkish proverb, that it requires no less than one Kopt, two Greeks, and three Jews to cheat an Armenian; and when Peter the Great was asked whether the Jews might be permitted to settle in Russia, he answered, "Let them come and see if they can make any profit out of my people."

Another numerous tribe in the Caucasus is the Tartars or Noghais. Klaproth and Bodenstedt both assert that the Russians distinguish the Turkish tribes in the Caucasus incorrectly by this name, and require that they should be called Turcomans or Turks; but what are the Turks themselves? The Turk is only a Tartar, ennobled by the introduction of Circassian blood; and the Turkish language is originally Tartaric, but much more elegant, as it has borrowed the beauties of the Persian and

Arabic languages. Tartars and Turks understand each other; but the Tartaric is not an epistolary language, while there is a written Turkish language, which is spoken by many of the Caucasian Tartars, and is regarded as a sign of superior education.

The Tartars or Noghais dwelling in the Caucasus, are of purely Tartaric descent. Their name is derived from Noghai, a descendant of Jenghis Khan, who formed a powerful empire on the northern and eastern coasts of the sea of Azof, about the end of the thirteenth century. He afterwards waged war against the Circassians, with the assistance of the Russians of Tmutorukan, who recognized his authority. After the conquest of Astrakan, a portion of the Noghais marched in 1557 into the Caucasus, expelled the Circassians, and settled on the Kuban under the name of the "black Noghais." When the Crimea fell into the power of the Russians in 1771, many of their countrymen joined the Tartars, so that their number now amounts to about 70,000.

The Kumyks dwell in Daghistan, and a populous, industrious aoul, called Andir, is the chief place in this country. The Russians have built the fort of Vensnapnaya, in the vicinity of this village. There are now about 70,000 Kumyks, and their district extends as far as the shamhalad of Tarku; the chiefs of this territory are in the Russian service.

The Cossacks form a considerable portion of the population of the Caucasus. The first five stanitzas or villages were founded by Peter the Great on the Terek in 1711; a year later, Peter built on the Sulak the fort of the Holy Cross, which was, however, afterwards destroyed, in consequence of the treaty of Belgrade, and the garrison removed to Kisliar. Afterwards Cossacks of the Don, a family from each stanitza—and hence called family Cossacks, (Semeini)—were settled on the banks of the Terek. In 1770, these were followed by Cossacks of the Volga, and, after the treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji, the forts Georgievsk, Ekaterinograd, Stavropol, Moskov, and Donsk, were built and garrisoned with Cossacks of the Volga.

In the year 1794, the line of the Kuban was advanced from

Georgievsk to Redut Nedreman, and strengthened by six new stanitzas. In the year 1792, several new redoubts were built on the line of the Malka; and in 1805 the Cossacks, called the little Russians, founded four new stanitzas from Ustlabinsk to Kaukask. In 1833, two of the four Cossack regiments of the Ukraine, which the nobility of that country had raised at their own expense for the Polish campaign, were transferred to the line. In the year 1807, 10,850 more were added. At the present moment there are not less than 40,000 Cossacks in the Caucasus, a sixth part of whom follow the operations of the army. These Cossacks have assumed the Circassian dress and manner of fighting, and consequently the mountaineers fear them more than the regular Russian troops.

There was formerly an Hungarian colony by the name of Magyar; but even the ruins of this town, which, according to Klaproth, was built by the Arabs, in whose language Magyar signifies an emigrant, have entirely disappeared, as the Russians employed them as materials for building Fort Ekatirinograd. At a distance of twenty-five versts from old Magyar, we find Kiss Magyari, or Burgundy Magyari, which was founded by General Stariynski, formerly governor of Astrakan. He gave it the name of Burgundy, from the wine that was produced here, and which tasted very much like Chambertin; and Catherine II., who probably also discovered this, ordered the general, on making him a present of the estate, to give it that title. We must not omit mentioning, however, that the vines which are here cultivated, were originally introduced from Burgundy.

The German colonies in Transcaucasia were founded in 1818 by Suabian emigrants, whose number at present amounts to about 4000. Helenendorf is the most populous colony, but not the most flourishing. Katharinenfeld appears to be in better circumstances, and the nearest to Tiflis is called New Tiflis. These Germans provide the market of Tiflis with butter and the better sorts of vegetables.

It is an interesting fact to judge the Circassian character, and one not generally known, that the Ægyptian Mamluks were of Circassian origin. Melek Schah, who was jealous of his vassals,

sent for a large number of Christian slaves from Circassia and Mingrelia. He formed an army of them, and, as they remained slaves, they received the name of Mamluks. The Mamluks could do nothing against the French squares, and for the same reason the Circassians rarely attack the Russian columns. Napoleon is said to have remarked: A single Mamluk can do as much as ten French cavalry soldiers; but a hundred infantry can put a thousand Mamluks to flight.

There are a great number of smaller Circassian clans which we have omitted mentioning, as they take no prominent part in the history of the Caucasus.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE CAUCASUS.

KING MITHRIDATES.—PRINCE SVIATOSLAR.—IVAN IV.—THE TZAR ALEXIS MICHAELOVITCH.—PETER THE GREAT.—THE EMPRESSES ANNE, ELIZABETH, AND CATHARINE II.—PAUL I.—PRINCE ZIZIANOFF.—GENERAL YERMOLOFF.—AMULAD BEY.—PASKIEVITCH.—PANKRATIEFF.—WILLIAMINOFF.—SASS.—ROSEN.—KASI MULLAH.—HAMSAD BEY.—SCHAMYL.—CAPTURE OF FORT ACHULKO.—THE VISIT OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS TO TIFLIS.—GENERAL GRABBE.—THE SECOND CAPTURE OF ACHULKO.—GENERAL ANREP.—RAYEFSKI.—PRINCE DOLGORUCKI.—GENERAL NEIDHARDT.—PRINCE WORONZOFF.—DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS IN THE FOREST OF ITCHKERI.—CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM OF THE WAR.—THE GRAND DUKE, HEIR APPARENT.—NEW PROSPECTS FOR THE CIRCASSIANS, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

THE successors of Mithridates were expelled from the kingdom of the Bosphorus by Russian princes, who remained in possession of this portion of the Caucasus until the appearance of the Huns. The Russian prince, Sviatoslar, founded Tmoturukan, and the Russians maintained their ground in western Caucasus, until they were expelled from it at the beginning of the eleventh century by the Polovzians. In the sixteenth century they reappeared, however, in the Caucasus; but on this occasion they came from the side opposite to the mouth of the Volga.

The Circassians fought under the banner of Ivan IV., before Astrakan and in Livonia. In 1586, the Russians founded the town of Tiumen on an arm of the Terek, which flows into the Caspian Sea; but they quitted it again two years later on the request of Sultan Selim, who had been instigated by the Tartars, and the Cossacks, who were called after the name of the town, Terki, were allowed to take possession of it.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Russians built the fort Koissa. In 1604, they were driven by the Turks out of Daghistan, and Butorlin, their leader, murdered. Still Terki remained faithful to the Turks. This occurred during the government of the voivode Golovin, who was striving to check the influence of Demetrius the Pretender, in Astrakan. Through the treaty of 1792, Persia gave up the eastern and southern shores of the Caspian Sea to Russia.

The principal, or at least the easiest conquest made by the Russians in the Caucasus, was that of Immeritia, under the Tzar Alexis Michaelovitch. Alexander, the sovereign of the Immeritians, who, like his predecessors, bore the title of "King of Kings," determined on following the example of Alexander II., king of the Cachetes, and surrendered himself and his territory to Russia. In the year 1650, he therefore took the oath of fidelity to the Tzar of Moskow, and all the people swore in a loud voice that they would be his slaves. Mingrelia and Immeritia, however, were not declared Russian provinces till the government of the Tzar Alexander I.

As several families of Russian traders were murdered by the Lesghis in 1711, Peter the Great marched ten years later against them, at the head of 20,000 men, who were supported by a fleet on the Caspian Sea. He defeated the Lesghis, founded Fort Sviatoikrest on the Sulak, took Derbend, and selected the most favourable places for the erection of forts.

The Empress Anne lost all her possessions in the Caucasus, and founded Kisliar on an arm of the Terek of the same name, which became the frontier of the Russian territories in the Caucasus. The Empress Elizabeth sent missionaries to the Ossetines, who, however, made but very few proselytes. The Empress Catharine II. increased her dominions in the Caucasus to a considerable extent. She occupied Kabardah, and founded Mosdok. The Saporogues, who had joined the Turks, were at length subjugated by the Russians, and settled along the banks of the Kuban and the Terek.

In 1780, Potemkin made an inroad into Piätigorsk; in 1784, Constantinogorsk and Vladikawkas were built. In 1785, Gen-

eral Lazareff defeated Omar Iman, as well as Alexander, the Georgian Tzarevitch, on the river Tora, and Georgia was now definitively occupied. Anapa and Suchum Kaleh were at that time in the power of the Turks, who kept up a garrison there. These forts were taken by the Russians during the war with the Turks, but after the peace restored to the Sultan.

Georgia, which was ravaged by the Persians and Lesghis, was united in the reign of Paul I., by the treaty of 28th September, to Russia, and was afterwards declared an imperial province; and in 1813, Scassi, a Genoese, established manufactories in Gulendjik and Pjad. These factories, however, were destroyed by the Circassians, and hostilities recommenced.

Prince Zizianoff, a Georgian by birth, and general in the Russian service, proved that more can be effected by wise and cautious policy than by force. He brought Abchasia under the Russian dominion, and maintained his ground there by a sensible administration. In addition, he took possession of Port Gangia, to which he gave the name of Elizabethopol. On the 8th February, 1806, he was treacherously assassinated by the Persians, at the moment when he advanced to receive the keys of Fort Baku. He lies buried in the cathedral of Tiflis, beneath a monument which the Marquis Paulucci, commander-in-chief of Georgia, raised to his memory in 1812.

About this time General Yermoloff assumed the command of the Caucasus, and has left behind him the reputation of an excellent general. We must not, however, omit mentioning, that the hostilities in his time had not reached that extent which they have acquired since his day. As the several Circassian tribes were then disunited by internal feuds, Yermoloff behaved in a magnanimous and liberal manner to the allied tribes, but was terrible and inexorable toward those who opposed him.

The Schamyl of that day was Amulad Bey, who caused Daghistan to rise in revolt. He was taken prisoner, but his life was spared. He took advantage of the first opportunity that presented itself, to escape. Yermoloff put a price upon his head, and suppressed the insurrection. Amulad Bey, however, had

disappeared without leaving a trace, and was never heard of afterwards.

In the year 1818, Yermoloff built in the Tchetchnia, or Tchetchenia, Forts Grosnaya and Usmatjan Yurt; but the Tchetchenzenes seized the fort Amir Hadji Yur by stratagem, and cut down the garrison. The two Russian generals, Grekoff and Lissanevitch, advanced to besiege the fortress. The Tchetchenzenes defended themselves till their power was exhausted, when they cut their way through the Russian troops, sabre in hand. It was now considered advisable to enter into negotiations with them. A single mullah was permitted to appear at the council of war. The dauntless Tchetché accepted the proposition; but when the generals spoke of treason and perjury, the proud chief returned the accusation, and gave vent to his hatred of the oppressors in the most violent language. "Silence, traitor!" cried General Grekoff, "or I will have you hanged!" "Do you honour the law of hospitality in that manner?" the furious Tchetché replied, rushed on the general and stabbed him with his kindjal. Sabres rattled, pistols were fired, soldiers rushed into the room; but General Lessarevitch, a colonel, and two other Russian officers, fell by the mullah's dagger before the Russians could cut him down. General Yermoloff, however, avenged the death of his officers by destroying the aouls along the Argun and the Sundja.

When General Yermoloff was recalled, he was followed by Paskievitch, who soon commenced a war against the Persians, which resulted in a portion of Caucasia, the provinces of Erivan and Nachitjevan, being incorporated with Russia. In 1828, Paskievitch carried on the campaign in Turkey in Asia with great renown: but he was not at all successful in the Caucasus. The expedition which he undertook in 1831 against the Abchasians, was followed by very trifling results. The war which, in the meanwhile, broke out in the other extremity of the Russian empire, in consequence of the Polish revolution, recalled him from the Caucasus. General Pankratieff assumed the temporary command, and distinguished himself in several expeditions. In the

same year, however, General Pullah suffered a great defeat in the Devil's Pass, the Gibraltar of the Tchetchenzes.

General Wiliaminoff, who commanded the Transcaucasian army, inherited a portion of Yermoloff's popularity. He was a talented and well-educated man, but died in 1839, during his residence in the Caucasus, of a natural death. It is true that he undertook a fruitless expedition in 1834 against the Eastern Circassians, but he established the fort of Nicolayevski. He was enabled to obtain obedience from the Tchetchenzes, and used to say in his journal: "The vagabond Tchetchenzes have revolted again." Various passages in his proclamations, as for instance—"And if the sky were to fall in, the Russian bayonets would be able to support it," may appear to us exaggerated and even ridiculous; but find their justification in the fact, that the nations to whom they were addressed, like all the Easterns, are partial to the use of similar hyperboles.

General Sass rendered himself so terrible through several expeditions, cleverly contrived and rapidly executed, that the Circassians made use of his name to frighten their disobedient children. This, however, had also been the case with Medem and Zizianoff, and even Yermoloff was called by the Circassians "the Russian devil."

General Paskievitch's definitive successor as governor-general of the Caucasus, was General Rosen. In the meanwhile, the war had extended immensely, especially since the appearance of Kasi Mullah, who, like the Prophet, marched at the head of his forces with the flag of insurrection in one hand, and the Koran in the other. He incited Daghistan to rebel, attacked the most considerable Russian redoubts on the Caspian—for instance, Tarku and Derbend—and plundered the country around Kisliar. In addition to this, he threatened an inroad into Tchetchenia; but General Rosen determined on dealing him a decisive blow, and destroying his forces in Himri, the birthplace of the prophet. For this purpose, he put himself at the head of the expedition, in September, 1832; but the glory of the victory at Himri belongs to General Wiliaminoff, under whose immediate command the battle took place. On the 18th of October the

Lesghis were defeated, the Murids cut down, and Kasi Mullah also killed; while Schamyl, whose later celebrity dates from this day, escaped in the mysterious manner we have already mentioned in our introduction.

About twenty-five versts from Himri was situated, at that time, the redoubt of Timur Khan Jura, so called from the name of the village, which immortalizes the memory of the renowned Timur. At that time, it was fancied that the war in the Caucasus was ended; but Hamsad Bey assumed the place of Kasi Mullah; and, in order to protect Avaria against him, General Lanskoï marched, in 1834, once again against Himri, the inhabitants of which place had joined the new mullah. When they heard of the approach of a Russian division, they intrenched themselves near the bridge leading across the Koïssu, in order to keep up an uninterrupted communication between both banks of the river. About twenty volunteers stormed the intrenchment at the head of the column—the enemy took to flight, and Himri was utterly destroyed. And yet this place rose again, as if by magic, from its ruins; and two years later there was not a trace to be seen of the horrors of desolation. Justice commands us to mention, that the victory was gained by the clever and cautious tactics of Colonel Kluge von Klugenau, who was in consequence promoted to the rank of general.

Schamyl's followers and renown waxed greater every day, and to prevent him from making an inroad into Avaria, General Fesi marched against the aoul of Tititle, whither Schamyl Bey had retired with his uncle, Kibet Makon. This campaign is known by the name of the Avarian expedition. After the Russians had converted Chunsak into a fortress, to the great dissatisfaction of their allies, they marched to Andi, and appeared on the 9th June, 1837, before Ashiltach, a village containing 300 saklis,* in a naturally very strong position, where

* Sakli—a house roughly built of masses of stone, sometimes partly, sometimes entirely, subterraneous. Places especially suited by their position are generally selected. Stones are piled up at the entrance of grottoes, caves, &c., and the sakli is formed. A traveller may, in the dark, ride over a village composed of these saklis, without seeing houses or inhabi-

5000 Circassians afforded the most obstinate resistance for a whole day. Ashiltach was taken, but not without considerable loss on the part of the victors.

The inhabitants of this village, as well as those of Tchirkada, had hidden their treasures in the grottoes of Achulko, whither Schamyl's family had also fled for shelter. It was a natural fortress—a rocky nest inaccessible on any side. After the Russians had destroyed the towers of old Achulko with their cannon, a battalion of the Apscheron regiment took possession of the fort, and carried off sixty Amanates (Avarian hostages) whom Schamyl retained near him. Schamyl, however, suddenly received large reinforcements, and the Russians had no alternative but to commence their retreat on the 16th June. The Circassians pursued them with shouts of victory as far as the pass of Achalta, which is scarcely two miles distant from Achulko. The sixth company of the regiment Kur, however, saved the division, by defending the defile until the Russians were able to raise some cannon on to the heights, and thence fire on the enemy. Simultaneously with this a battalion arrived from Himri, and repulsed the mountaineers. On the 3rd July the Russians made an attack upon Tititle; on the following day a general assault took place, and the battle lasted the whole day. The 5th and 6th were spent in negotiations with Schamyl, who gave his nephew Hamsad as a hostage, and promised submission and fidelity, though, of course, only with the intention of gaining time.

In the same year, 1837, the Emperor Nicholas paid a visit to the Caucasus. The aspect of the "Russian Sultan," however, had not that effect upon the sons of the mountains which had been anticipated from it. He was suffering at the time from an inflammation in his face, and when he told the Circassians that

tants. We need scarcely mention that the style of building is always in accordance to the requirements of the inhabitants, and, in districts menaced by war, they assume a very different character from that which they have in more peaceable countries; for instance, in Tiflis, where the saklis of the Grusians are gradually growing above the earth, are losing their primitive rough form, and are with each successive year becoming more like habitable dwellings,—Bodenstedt, "*Die Völker des Caucasus.*"

he had powder enough to blow up all their mountains, they considered that such a thing was not exactly possible.

The Emperor was greatly annoyed at the system of corruption which several of his officers practised, and confirmed his desire of punishing these irregularities with his own hands; for at a review he tore off the gold lace, which the staff-officers wear as a mark of distinction, from the breast of Prince Dadianoff, the son-in-law of the general commanding, but not wishing to punish him too severely, he gave it to his son. However, this occurrence was the cause of mutual dissatisfaction. Rosen was recalled in 1838, and the Emperor entrusted the command of the army of the Caucasus to General Golovine, who had previously filled the office of minister of public instruction at Warsaw. The new commander-in-chief, whose army was raised to 75,000 men, was determined to deal a decisive blow, and gave General Grabbe orders to take Achulko.

Achulko is a Tartarian word, signifying "a meeting-place in time of disturbance." The Russians call it a castle, as it is enclosed on all sides, is formed of a compact mass of rocks, and is divided into two parts—Old and New Achulko. On one side this mass of rock rises perpendicularly over the Koïssu to a height of 600 feet, and on the other it is defended by impassable ravines, intercepted by rapid streams.

Schamyl had learned a lesson from his former defeats, and rendered this terrible position still stronger. In doing this, he had recourse to modern strategies, and had high walls built and subterraneous passages made at the most exposed points, under the direction of foreign engineers. But, not entirely satisfied with these preparations, he sent two divisions to check the further progress of the Russian army. They first attacked the enemy at Buturnay, but was repulsed; and the second, consisting of 10,000 men, fought on the 30th and 31st May at Arguani, but was also driven back with a loss of 1500 men.

Grabbe besieged Achulko for two months with eight battalions, which were reinforced by five more on the 15th July. When three fine battalions of the regiment, Count of Erivan (Paskievitch) marched in, the officers said, "To-morrow two of them will no

longer exist," and, in fact, an unsuccessful assault was undertaken the next day, and only one battalion of this regiment returned from it. On the 15th August the external works of New Achulko were taken, which was followed by a murderous engagement that lasted five days; and on the 22nd of the same month, the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation, the Russians marched into Achulko. General Grabbe sent a son of General Golovine's to carry these victorious news to the Tzar, who immediately ordered medals to be struck in commemoration of this brilliant deed, and distributed them among the soldiers who had taken part in this battle. Golovine was promoted to the rank of general *en chef*. In order to hold permanent possession of the captured fortress, Grabbe ordered the erection of a line of forts, of which, however, only one was completed, that of Girscl Aoul.

As it was impossible to grant the Tchetchenzes the promised amnesty after the threats made by Schamyl, it was necessary to carry the war into their country. General Golosefeff undertook this, and suffered a severe defeat at the river Valerik, for which Kluge von Klugenau retaliated a few days later, by defeating a division under the personal command of Schamyl.

The year 1840 was distinguished by a number of simultaneous and successive attacks which the Circassians made on the various Russian forts forming the Kuban line. They took the most important of these all by storm, Nicolayevski, which commands the Gulendjik line; but the fort Michaeloff offered an heroic resistance, and, when this was no longer possible, the soldiers set fire to the powder magazine, and destroyed the victors as well as themselves. The Russian garrisons were greatly weakened by the contagious diseases which prevailed during the winter; but the Circassians, remembering the brave resistance they had found, made no attempt for a lengthened time to take these forts. General Anrep, who followed General Rayevski in the command of the right wing, undertook to punish the Circassians for the loss of this fort. He led an expedition against the Ubychs and Djigetes, and did them some injury by the assistance of gunboats. Ali Oku was killed; his grandfather,

Hadji Dochum Oku, the veteran leader of the Ubychs, however, renewed the contest, and the Russians were forced to retreat. In the spring of 1841, General Golovine himself, with a small detachment, of which he left a portion on the banks of the Koïssu, under the command of General Vogelsang, joined Grabbe at Tcherkey. This operation has been repeatedly criticized, and yet it decided the fall of Tcherkey ; for while the main army was laboriously scaling the mountains under a shower of bullets, and Schamyl contested every inch of ground, General Vogelsang crossed the river and took Tcherkey, but paid for the victory with his own life.

Tchetchenia was again desolated ; but Schamyl took advantage of the Russian army returning to its winter quarters, collected an army of 15,000 Tchetchenzes, made an incursion into the country of the Kumyks, who were in alliance with the Russians, and menaced Kisliar. The colonel in command at this fort, advanced against them with a thousand men and two guns, but was utterly defeated. The commandants of Grosnaya and Tchervlenna marched with their troops against Schamyl, who, however, very skilfully prevented their junction, defeated them in detail, and carried off an immense amount of booty, principally consisting of cattle.

With the design of punishing Schamyl for this victory, Grabbe in the following year transferred the seat of war to the country of the Gorumlatians. The chief object of this expedition was to take Dargo, one of Schamyl's residences, who, however, went to Andalal when he heard that the Russians were *en route*. The Naïb, Hadji Yagvia, was defeated by the Russian vanguard, and a detached corps under the command of Prince Argutinski Dolgurucki, after taking possession of Jirak and Kumyk, brought the neighbouring population under Russian subjection.

Grabbe was only ten versts from Dargo when he gave orders for retreat ; for his loss had been very considerable, his troops were continually attacked by the enemy, and were perfectly exhausted by privations and fatigue. In the forests of Itchkeri, however, the Russian army was almost entirely annihilated ; for the Circassians, when they saw the Russians in retreat, were

animated with fresh courage, and rushed with terrible impetuosity on the foe. A captured Russian drummer was compelled to beat the *reveille*, and many Russian soldiers, who were deceived by it, fell into the ambuscade which had been prepared for them. More than one half the officers were killed, and the bonds of discipline were almost severed, when suddenly, on seeing the Circassians capture several guns, the Russians were filled with such fury that they recovered the guns, and the column returned to the forts whence it had started, with a loss of 8000 men.

The Russian minister at war, Prince Tchernicheff, was at this moment on a journey of inspection through the Caucasus, and saw the return of these troops. General Grabbe was recalled, although the Emperor himself allowed that the defeat was rather owing to the elements than to the general. At the same time, however, the commander-in-chief, although he had not approved of Grabbe's expedition, also fell into disgrace. He retired from the command, leaving as a reminiscence a powerful fort in the vicinity of the Caspian sea, which was called after him. His successor was General Neidhardt, who had been governor-general of Moscow *ad interim*, while Golovine was soon after appointed governor-general of Riga, and afterwards a member of the Imperial Senate.

General Sass was also compelled to leave Prochnoyokop, from which place he had carried on a most destructive guerilla war against the mountaineers. However, the Circassians, by means of their spies, had learned now to defend themselves against his *razzias*. General Golovine, during the latter part of his administration, had expressed himself in favour of a defensive system, which Prince Woronzoff also afterwards carried into effect, after a second unsuccessful expedition against Dargo. The plan which was considered the best was, to surround the enemy with a net-work of forts, await the result, and confine the Russian operations to *razzias*.

Up to this time, all the defeats and unsuccessful expeditions had been ascribed to the jealousy, which existed not merely among the several generals in command of divisions, but between these and the commander-in-chief. The Emperor, there-

fore, came to the conclusion of preventing this dangerous state of things, by investing Woronzoff, who was then only a count, with absolute authority, and he even went so far as to make him irresponsible to the minister at war. It was certainly said, and perhaps not unjustly, that the governor-general of Tiflis was much too distant from the seat of war to know what was taking place there. Grabbe's opinion was refuted by the terrible defeat of Itchkeri. Sass ever acted too much in accordance with his own views; and even at this time a certain liberty of action is conceded to the commanders of the different provinces, for Prince Bariatinsky has undertaken several expeditions on his own responsibility.

General Neidhardt, whom the Russians called the "German Pedant," is asserted to have shown himself to be only great in small matters, while he did not effect much in a military point of view. In 1844, Schamyl took the fort of Unsorilla, and Kluge von Klugenau, who hastened to its relief with a small body of troops, was utterly defeated. Schamyl desolated the whole of Avaria. In the following year, Neidhardt took the field against him, in order to carry out a cleverly contrived plan, which, however, was frustrated by the Fabian policy of the Russian general. Schamyl was enclosed in a defile: Neidhardt, who attended to precautionary measures too much, sent orders to attack a day too late, and Schamyl had time to escape from the snare. General Neidhardt was recalled and went to Moscow, where he died of grief.

Count (afterwards Prince) Woronzoff was appointed in his place, and the army was augmented to 150,000 men. No one had believed that the Emperor's choice would fall on Woronzoff. Some fancied that the aged Yermoloff, although weighed down by his years, would be recalled to the scene of his former victories; others conjectured that the minister at war, Tchernitcheff, would himself superintend affairs in the Caucasus, if only for a few years. No one thought of Count Woronzoff, the governor-general of New Russia, who was said not to be in especial favour at Court; and in the Crimea it was an universally propagated rumour, that he was surrounded by spies in his suite,

his staff, his palace, and even at table, who were enjoined to report his every word to the Emperor; and that an opportunity was only awaited in order to ruin a man who had made so many irreconcilable enemies by the freedom of his sentiments.

All these rumours were proved to be false by Woronzoff's appointment to the command in chief. Since the favourite of Catharine II., the all-powerful Potemkin, no Russian subject had been invested with such unlimited authority. The Emperor gave him absolute power over the countries situated between the Pruth and the Araxes; he can punish all the natives with death; he can appoint and remove the officials to the sixth class at his pleasure; he can give rewards and distinctions to the army without first demanding the Emperor's confirmation; and finally, he can bring officers and officials of every class before a court-martial. Such absolute authority is almost unparalleled in Russian history, and even Paskievitch, as governor of Poland, did not possess it.

Woronzoff received orders from the Emperor, at the commencement of his command, to take Dargo at any price; and he began this expedition, which he would probably have declined, had it not been for the Emperor's expressed wish. Schamyl, who found himself unable to defend this fortress, allowed it to be taken, more especially as it was of no great strategic value. But when the Russian army had commenced its retreat, he attacked it in the forest of Itchkeri with such impetuosity, that Woronzoff and his forces were almost entirely annihilated. He would have had great difficulty in escaping, had not two Circassian spies succeeded in carrying an order to General Freitag, bidding him hasten to the assistance of his chief with the utmost speed. The Russians lost in this defeat 4000 men, and three generals—Passeck, Fock, and Voinoff—were among the fallen. Eyewitnesses state, that the soldiers wept with joy when they saw Freitag's division come up to save them from utter destruction.

But, however great this defeat was, the Emperor saw that Woronzoff had displayed the most undeniable signs of bravery and ability, and raised him to Prince by rank. The loss of

Passeck was irrecoverable. The soldiers loved him, and he had, during his short and brilliant career, furnished proofs of the most distinguished abilities as a commander. The Circassians cut off his head, and carried it about for several days on a lance, as a symbol of victory. The negotiations commenced by Prince Woronzoff, were followed by the Naïb Hadji Murad joining the Russians, though only in pretence; for, as soon as he had discovered all in the Russian camp that he desired to know, he fled with fourteen Murids to Schamyl.

After the dearly purchased victory at Dargo, Prince Woronzoff had a conference with the Emperor at Sebastopol, in which he explained, that in future he intended to give up the two systems till now followed by the Russians—of a defensive war and expedition suddenly carried out—and the campaign would be adapted to the nature of the circumstances. A merely defensive position would certainly confine the Caucasians in their mountains, but allowed them to unite, while the Russian *razzias* offered a very uncertain chance of success. Before all, the national unity must be destroyed, which had been foolishly allowed to increase. This bond must be ruptured, and Schamyl's army broken up, which could only be possible if the Russian forces suddenly appeared at different points, and compelled the Tchetchenzi horsemen to disperse. Prince Woronzoff declared it to be a useless attempt to subjugate the Caucasus by a single decisive blow, which the whole Russian army could not effect; but, on the contrary, the enemy should be gradually exhausted, and for that, patience and time were required.

The Emperor perfectly agreed with the Prince's plan, and gave orders that it should be carried into effect immediately and energetically. The light columns began to traverse the Caucasus in every direction, and the success they met with was considerable enough to summon up a desperate resistance on the part of Schamyl. While the Russian columns were preparing for fresh expeditions in 1846, the prophet summoned not only his standing army, but all the riders of the aouls under arms, quitted the scene of the campaign, traversed two lines of forts, crossed two great rivers, by which he considerably endangered his retreat, and fell upon

Kabardah. The Kabardians are the Tcherkess of the plains, just as the Adeche or Adige are the mountain Tcherkess, and inhabit part of Western Caucasus. We have already remarked that they have been for a long time subject to the Russians, for they are exposed on all sides, and cannot possibly prevent it. Schamyl's intention in thus attacking them, was evidently to terrify the vacillating tribes, and compel them to join the national cause. This was a piece of unparalleled boldness; for even if he had, as was said, 20,000 horsemen under his orders, still he could be surrounded by the Russian army in the plains, and be utterly annihilated at one blow. However, the daring scheme was successful; Schamyl plundered the Kabardah, burnt the crops, carried off hundreds of prisoners, and, with the speed of light, recrossed the Russian lines with a daily increasing army.

In the following year, 1847, fortune was less favourable to him. He made an attack upon Fort Golovine, in the country of the Ubychs: the sons of the mountain were so terribly repulsed, however, and their loss was so considerable, that they punished the Polish deserter, who had advised the expedition to be undertaken, with death.

A few months later, Schamyl crossed the Sundja with 20,000 horsemen and several guns, to make a sudden attack on the Russian centre. As soon as General Freitag received information of this, he collected six battalions of infantry and a thousand cavalry in Fort Grosnaya. Acting in unison with Generals Nestoroff and Savadovsky, he exerted himself to enclose the prophet within a narrow pass; so that Schamyl, to make his escape, was forced to disperse his infantry, and hurry off through the woods as quickly as possible. Nestoroff forced his way through the pass of Sontjin, cut down the forests between the Assa and the Fortanga, and destroyed eleven villages. In the meanwhile, the Russians could not prevent Schamyl crossing the Terek, and it is also conjectured that Muhammad Omosoroff, a chieftain of the Kabardah, placed many impediments in the way of the Russians, on their retreat between the Assa and the Puta.

Schamyl crossed the Sundja a second time, and menaced the Russian line on the Terek. Lieutenant-colonel Sleptzoff repulsed

him, and, by the employment of Congreve rockets, spread death and terror through the ranks of the Circassians; General Schwartz defeated Daniel Bey in the neighbourhood of Katael. Schamyl, on the other hand, tried to cut off the retreat of the Russians, who had just taken the aoul of Gergebil. Prince Argutenski Dolgurucki attacked him in spite of the numerical disproportion, and if the Russians, under the command of this brave and talented leader, did not gain any decisive advantage, this was owing to the outbreak of the cholera with fresh fury, the snow, which rendered the roads impassable, and the diversion which Schamyl effected by his attack on the Lesghi line.

The Grand Duke, heir-apparent, took part in the Circassian war of 1850, and had an opportunity to distinguish himself in an attack made by a band of Tcherkess upon his escort. His bravery was of great effect in reanimating the courage of the Russian army. Prince Bariatinsky, commander of Fort Vosvichenski, carried out a brilliant expedition on the 16th August, 1852. 1500 men found their way through the pass of Argun, called the "Devil's Pass," and marched against the aoul of Kankaleh, while one half the troops remained behind to guard the pass. This precaution proved to be only useful, for the whole of the detachment would else have been destroyed. As soon as they had completed their *razzia*, cut down all in the aoul who offered any resistance, and made a few prisoners, they hurried back to the pass, where they found the rearguard actively engaged with the enemy. Within twenty minutes they lost twelve officers and seventy privates, but they succeeded in effecting their retreat through the pass.

On his departure from the Kabardah, Schamyl announced that he would speedily return; but such blows are not dealt twice. For six years Prince Woronzoff has held the Tchetchenzes encompassed by a belt of iron, and it is a question whether Schamyl will ever again be able to collect a body of 20,000 men, as he did in 1846. Still he is now the prophet, chieftain, and sultan, whose word creates heroes; and, despite his years, the enthusiasm of youth and manly determination still animate him, but the field of his restless activity has been considerably re-

stricted. The Russians assert that it is daily growing more limited; but any one who is personally acquainted with this wildly romantic country, may entertain a reasonable doubt whether the inexorable cordon which Woronzoff has drawn round the Tchetchenzes, will finally extend beyond a certain limit, and Schamyl is protected by natural fortresses, behind which his warriors will defend themselves for years. He will succeed more than once again in breaking through the Russian lines, destroying their fortresses, punishing those tribes who desert the cause, as he did in 1850, despite the exertions of General Dolgorucki. The more restricted territory in which the prophet is now confined, is thence more secure from sudden attacks; and Schamyl is ever at liberty to choose the most favourable time and place to strike a blow.

The last attack made by the Circassians was in the west, on the redoubts and forts on the Black Sea, from Redut Kaleh to the fortress of Naroginskoï; and in the east, upon the detached posts and military cordons which cover the banks of the Terek and several positions in Daghistan. For a time, Prince Woronzoff was completely surrounded by the Circassians, and could not liberate himself until troops were sent to his assistance from the Turkish frontier.

The present war between Turkey and Russia has also given fresh impulse to the movements of the Circassians. Sheikh Schamyl has announced to Omer Pacha, the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, that he is ready to act in conjunction with him at the head of 20,000 men. Simultaneously with this, Sifar Bey, a celebrated Circassian chief, who was kept for twenty years a prisoner at Adrianople, has found his way to the shores of the Black Sea, in order to organize an insurrection among his countrymen.

Sultan Abd-ul-Medjid, perceiving the error of his predecessors, who, by giving up the littoral of the Black Sea to the Russians, decided the fate of the Circassians, has now formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Schamyl. Guyon has lately taken Fort St. Nicholas, though not without a considerable loss, which was, however, in some measure compensated by the immense

quantity of ammunition found in the fort. If the Turks carry on the war in Georgia with energy, the Tchetchenzes will doubtlessly play an important part in it, and affairs in the Caucasus may assume an aspect which will either realize or utterly destroy the hopes of Schamyl's friends.

The Russians accuse the mountaineers of treachery and cowardice, because they have repeatedly broken their treaties, and only risk their lives when absolutely necessary. "The Tcherkess," they say, "always attack us from an ambuscade, kill our men singly by stratagems or unforeseen attacks, and only dare to engage in a regular battle when no other mode of salvation is left them. But, if there is any way of escape, they think it no disgrace to fly."

Certainly, if all the warlike tribes of Daghistan were to descend from their mountains, and oppose the enemy in the open field, the Russians would soon destroy them with their excellent artillery, and gain the prize after a few battles, for which they have struggled in vain during half a century. But, if Schamyl's care is to keep his band united, if he cautiously avoids every useless skirmish, and only engages in regular battle when pressing necessity compels him, or if he can gain a certain advantage from it, we must not on that account call him a coward! When the Russians lose an army, another is always in readiness to take its place; their soldiers grow up like mushrooms in a single night, at the all-powerful autocrat's bidding; they need not count the thousands who have already found their grave in the yawning ravines of Daghistan—and, in truth, they do not count them. But Schamyl has only *one* army to lose; if this army is destroyed, all is lost, and he has only a span of earth which he can call his own, and, if this span be taken from him, he has not where to lay his head. The whole country where the warlike mountaineers live, is intersected by Russian military roads, and covered with Russian forts. The great towns of Daghistan, commanding the Caspian Sea, are in the

hands of the Russians. It is plain, what an immense superiority the latter must acquire from all the victories they gain. We must add to this, that the mountaineers are almost continually in want of the materials of war—the Russians conquer by their cannon and muskets, while the Tcherkess can only gain their victories sword in hand.

It would be superfluous to mention in detail all the advantages the Russians, who are supported by a treasury filled from three quarters of the world, have over their little band of enemies. And is the man who has been enabled to protect this band from the overspreading wings of the Russian eagle, during the last ten years, to be called a coward? Schamyl is much too clever not to know, as well as ourselves, that the Russians frequently prefer a great victory *on paper*, to a little one in *reality*. He gladly leaves his enemies the renown, if he can only obtain the advantage. He does not fight for promotion or orders, or to trumpet his victories through Europe in the newspapers; he fights for the sole purpose of defending the liberty and belief of his nation, and of taking revenge on his enemies.

CHAPTER VI.

SCHAMYL AS CHIEFTAIN, SULTAN, AND PROPHET.

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM IN THE CAUCASUS.—SCHAMYL'S BIRTHPLACE—HIS TEACHER—HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE—HIS ELOQUENCE.—SCHAMYL AS A LEGISLATOR.—THE ORGANIZATION OF HIS ARMY—HIS BODY-GUARD.—TCHETCHENZI ORDERS AND HONORARY REWARDS.—SCHAMYL'S REVENUE.—HIS CRIMINAL CODE.—THE NARRATIVE OF A TOWNSMAN OF MOSDOK ABOUT A VISIT TO SCHAMYL'S RESIDENCE.—SCHAMYL'S MODE OF LIFE.—HIS WIVES.—HIS MOTHER FALLS A VICTIM TO HIS FANATICISM.—THE BLOOD-REVENGE.

THE soul of the struggle, which forces the tribes ever to hold the sword in readiness for battle if they would not perish, is, in its fundamental principles, religious fanaticism. But this fanaticism is not of that rough nature which we might expect to find among "barbarians;" for the Caucasians possess theological schools, which, in boldness of ideas and inexorable logic, are seldom surpassed. A fusion of warm feelings of nationality and of religious sentiments, must, in every mind addicted to solitude, produce a certain mystical tendency; and mystics of this nature have been found among the Lesghis and Tchetchenzes for the last thirty years. The dogmas of the Muhammadan theologians and philosophers were known to the religious teachers of the Caucasus; and the doctrine of trances or transfiguration, called Sufism, after its founder Sufi,* by which its apostles assert that they can enter into immediate communication with the Deity, had been introduced from Persia among these warlike countries, and had fanned the embers of patriotism into a flame. Sunk in these intoxicating visions, the ulema of Daghistan founded a new religion, as it were, or, to speak more correctly, they reformed Islam-

* A more detailed account of this religion will be found in the Appendix.

ism, and gave it a form which rose above the law of Muhammad, in which the two old sects of Ali and Omar disappear, and which at the present moment forms the foundation of the state constructed by Schamyl.

We will, however, remark here, that this religious fanaticism, although certainly the principal, is not the sole, support of his power. The fear of his severity has probably effected as much as religion in keeping the different aouls under his authority; for he punishes traitors and rebels in the severest manner. We shall be mistaken if we fancied that all the tribes that obey him are satisfied with his rule. He raises regular and irregular contributions in money, men, and provisions, which now and then are felt to be very oppressive. Every tenth man is bound to assemble beneath his banners, and the others to be in readiness to attend his first summons; every family pays a capitation tax of one silver ruble; and the tithes of the harvest are carried into the chieftain's magazines.

Schamyl was born in 1797, at the aoul of Himri, which was also the birthplace of his great predecessor, Kasi Mullah. In his earliest youth Schamyl was distinguished, so the aged men of Himri say, by a solemn, reserved manner, by an unbending temper, by curiosity, pride, and ambition, from all his playmates. His naturally tender and weak body he tried to strengthen by gymnastic exercises of every description. If, in the martial games of Daghistan, another carried off the prize in shooting or in running, his features would be awfully contracted, and he would not be seen for weeks in the public places, through shame and fury at the thought that he had not been the victor. Of the numerous stories which circulate in Daghistan about the youthful life of our hero, we will find room for one.

He was, even when a child, an enthusiastic admirer of the beauties of nature, and was accustomed each evening, in favourable weather, to climb the barren rocks of Himri, whose wild beauty exercised a great influence upon him. Near the highest of these rocks, which, cut into the most extraordinary shapes, boldly rise in the centre of a boundless forest, there is a desolate and arid plateau, which is known and revered through Daghistan

in consequence of the terrible stories which attach to it. The inhabitants of the aoul say, that bright flames frequently burst forth from the ground at night, and rise high above the rocks of Himri. There Simurg, the gigantic white bird of Solomon, who has been enthroned for centuries in Kafdagh, soars on his rustling wings to these rocks, and the air seems to weep and bewail through the sound of his terrible flight; and the Peris, the blessed dwellers in Djinnistan, the fairyland, dance merrily around the glistening flame. At this sacred spot, which was always shunned after sunset, Schamyl was wont to remain half the night, sunk in his dreams and fancies.

On one occasion, some of his playmates, who had been insulted by his arrogant, sarcastic remarks, determined to take their revenge upon him. They waited for him in a secret spot, which he must pass on his return from his wonted walk, and fell upon him as soon as he appeared: a furious contest ensued, in which Schamyl naturally yielded to numbers, and received a severe wound in the stomach, in addition to several contusions in his head and arm. He arrived at home quite exhausted by the loss of blood, bound up his wounds as well as he could, had some curative herbs secretly brought him by an old woman, and remained for several weeks ill in his bed, without telling any one a syllable about the real state of the case. Only his revered teacher, the wise mullah, Jilal Eddin, found out on inquiry the cause of his illness. This learned mullah, to whom Schamyl owes the foundation of his comprehensive knowledge of Arabic literature, plays a great part in the life history of our hero. He was the only person to whom Schamyl was obedient, the only one who could boast of possessing the young man's unlimited confidence. He employed his pupil's zeal at an early age to make him susceptible for the study of the Koran and of the Arabic philosophers. Through his stories from the lives of the old heroes of Islamism, he sought to enkindle a passion for mighty deeds in his scholar. Himself a zealous follower of Sufism, it flattered his self-love to have a pupil who, as it were, was born for Sufism, and he exerted himself to impart greater firmness to Schamyl's natural attachment to this widely diffused sect.

But Schamyl is a worthy chieftain of the fiery sect which has chosen him as its prophet. He is of middle height, has light hair, grey eyes, covered by bushy, finely formed eyebrows, a regular, handsomely shaped nose, and a small mouth. His face is distinguished from that of his countrymen by the extraordinary whiteness and softness of the skin. The elegant shape of his hands and feet is equally remarkable. The apparent immobility of his arms in walking, shews his reserved character. His carriage is thoroughly noble and dignified. He is perfectly master of himself, and exercises a certain supremacy over all who come into his presence. Adamantine calmness rests on his features, which does not desert him even in moments of the greatest danger. He utters a decree of death with the same imperturbability as that with which he gives his bravest Murid a mark of distinction after a sanguinary engagement. Traitors or criminals, whose death he has determined, he speaks to without the least sign of anger or revenge. He is convinced that his actions and words are the immediate inspirations of the Deity; he eats little, drinks only water, sleeps a few hours, and spends his hours of relaxation in reading the Koran and in prayer; but when he speaks, he has, as the Daghistani poet, Bersek Bey, sings, "lightning in his eye and flowers on his lip."

He is, in fact, perfect master of that Oriental eloquence which is adapted to inflame the Mussulmans, and the exaggerations which the Russian generals are guilty of in their proclamations, are far inferior to his. When the Russians say that they are as numerous as the sands of the sea, Schamyl replies that the Circassians are the waves which wash away this sand. In his proclamation to the warriors of the two Kabardahs, he says, *inter alia*:—

"Do not believe that God favours the greatest number! God is on the side of good men, and these are always less numerous than the godless. Look around you, and you will every where find a confirmation of what I say. Are there not fewer roses than weeds? is there not more dirt than pearls, more vermin than useful animals? is not gold rarer than the ignobler metals? And are we not much nobler than gold and roses, than pearls and horses,

and every useful animal put together? for all the treasures of the world are transitory, while eternal life is promised us.

“But if there are more weeds than roses, shall we then, instead of rooting out the former, wait till they have quite overgrown and choked the noble flowers? and, if our enemies are more numerous than we, is it wise for us to suffer ourselves to be caught in their nets?”

“Do not say our enemies have taken Tcherkey, besieged Achulko, and conquered all Avaria! If the lightning strike a tree, do all the other trees bow their heads before it? do they fall down through fear of being also struck? O ye of little faith, follow the example given you by the trees of the forest, which would put you to shame if they had tongues and could speak. And if a fruit is devoured by worms, do the other fruits also rot through fear of being attacked in the same way?”

“Do not alarm yourselves because the infidels increase so quickly, and continually send fresh warriors to the battle-field, in the place of those whom we have destroyed. For I tell you, that a thousand poisonous fungi spring out of the earth before a single good tree reaches maturity. I am the root of the tree of liberty: my Murids are the trunk, and you are the branches. But do you believe that the rottenness of *one* branch must entail the destruction of the entire tree? God will lop off the rotten branches, and cast them into the eternal fire. Return, therefore, penitently, and enrol yourselves among the number of those who fight for our faith, and you will gain my favour, and I will be your protector.

“But if you persist in giving more belief to the seductive speeches of the Christian dogs than to my exhortations, then I will carry out what Kasi Mullah formerly threatened you with. My bands will burst upon your aouls like a thunder-cloud, and obtain by force what you refuse to friendly persuasion. I will wade in blood, desolation and terror shall follow me; for what the power of eloquence cannot obtain, must be acquired by the edge of the sword.”

The Kabardians, however, who feared the Russians more than Schamyl, remained motionless in spite of this proclamation; and

when the chieftain, Ashverdu Mahoma, was sent into this country, he was killed by a tribe friendly to the Russians. Schamyl, however, kept his word, quitted the Russian forts for a time, and fell upon the Kabardah, laying it under ashes. More than eighty aouls were a prey to the flames, and he carried off an immense amount of booty, and a considerable number of prisoners.

During the first year of his career, Schamyl lived in the little fortress of Achulko, when, strange to say, he had a two-storied house built for him by Russian deserters, entirely after the European fashion. Here he was at first in such poverty, that his soldiers were obliged to procure him the necessary provisions, and still the force of religious enthusiasm made him as powerful as if he had an Eldorado at his command. He needs only to give the signals, and his Murids are ready to rush to death. None of the Daghistani chieftains, his predecessors, ever achieved such a reputation. Even Sheikh Mansur, who carried the banner of insurrection through the whole of the Caucasus, was only a celebrated and much-feared warrior: but Schamyl is not only the general and sultan of the Tchetchenzes, but their prophet as well, as, since 1834, Daghistan's war-cry has been:—"Muhammad is Allah's first prophet, and Schamyl his second!"

At the very moment when General Grabbe thought he had destroyed Schamyl's prestige and himself, by the capture of Achulko, the power of the daring chieftain rose to its highest point. Let us imagine the apparition of the prophet among the tribes who had just received the news of the entire destruction of Achulko. It was already believed that he was buried beneath the ruins, and suddenly he stood there among them, like one raised from the dead! His divine mission could not possibly be any longer doubted, and a victory could hardly have done him more good than his heroic defeat.

After the loss of Achulko, Schamyl formed the determination of preaching the sacred war to the Tcherkess, and summoning them to join him. He had not been successful in 1831, in an attempt of the same nature which he made upon the Avarians, a tribe of Daghistan who had been for years subjected to the Russians. He had hoped to effect a junction of the Caucasians

of the Black Sea with those of the Caspian; for the latter, with the sole exception of the Avarians, had collected beneath his standard, and now formed one nation.

Assuredly, if he had succeeded in inducing the Tcherkess to commence the war simultaneously with the Tchetchenzes, a terrible blow might have been dealt to the Russian forces. Schamyl proceeded in person to the Ubychs and Adighi, and was honourably received by them, though he obtained no decided result. The hatred of the Russians is undeniably a mighty bond between the tribes on either side of the Caucasus; but long, lasting jealousy between the several tribes has loosened this bond, and will do so still more. Besides this, there was a considerable impediment to the common action which the dauntless chieftain desired to summon into life, in the difference of languages; and Schamyl was only comprehended by the chiefs and mullahs, as he was obliged to preach the crusade in Turkish, and could not impart that effect to his eloquence which he is usually wont to give it.

At last, especially after the great defeat of the Russians at Dargo, the Tcherkess of the Black Sea, inflamed by the news of Schamyl's victories, made several attacks on the Russians, and broke more than once through the line of defence, guarded by the Cossacks. They even took four forts, but satisfied themselves with plundering them, and did not leave a garrison in them. However, three or four victories on the part of the Russians, followed up with energy and strength, compelled the Tcherkess very speedily to confine themselves to passive resistance.

When Prince Woronzoff assumed the chief command in the Caucasus, Schamyl was no longer the insignificant chief he had been while still obeying Hamsad Bey. His power was immense. The Avarians, the Kists, the Kumyks, and several other tribes, had been overpowered by the prophet's eloquence, and forgot their old animosities to unite with the Lesghis and Tchetchenzes. At first, lord of a proportionately small number of tribes, he had now become the sovereign of an entire nation. It is evident that to produce such a result, the most unceasing exertions of a politic and active genius must be presupposed.

But Schamyl is not merely a brave warrior, but a wise legislator; and this was necessary to create and organize a nation, for the task he had before him was to subjugate the princes, found a theocratic monarchy amid the barbarism of partial slavery, reconcile hostile nations, give them all one belief, accustom wild horsemen to regular tactics, and establish permanent institutions. All this he really effected. The new doctrine of faith which he preached, reconciled the sects of Omar and Ali; his victories blinded the sons of the mountain, and humiliated the pride of their princes. The tribes which had coalesced for one and the same religious war, were now united by him beneath one and the same civil law, and all the old territorial distinctions disappeared.

At the present time, the country occupied by Schamyl is divided into twenty provinces, each of which is governed by a Naïb. These Naïbs are not all invested with equal authority; but only four, the prophet's most confidential and trustworthy followers, are regarded as absolute rulers of their subjects, while the rest must lay their decree before the Imâm for confirmation.

A masterpiece of cleverly designed precision, is the organization of the army; for it is entirely calculated and adapted to render discipline possible, without in any way quenching the martial flame. Every Naïb must maintain 300 mounted warriors, who are selected under the following regulations:—one soldier is furnished by every ten houses of an aoul: the family to whom he belongs is free from all taxation as long as he lives; the equipment and maintenance of the soldier falls to the share of the other nine families. The warriors must never take off their arms, even when sleeping, so that they may be prepared for battle at a moment's notice. The whole of Schamyl's regular mounted troops in 1843, were estimated at 5000 men. Hamsad Bey was the first who formed a separate corps of Russian and Polish deserters, among whom were several officers. Schamyl has greatly increased and improved this body, which now consists of 4000 men. He has also formed a small park of artillery out of the guns taken from the Russians.

But beside the regular troops, the remaining male inhabitants of every aoul, from the 15th to the 50th year, must be skilled in horsemanship and the use of their arms, in order to defend their own houses on any sudden attack, or, in times of pressing danger, strengthen Schamyl's army. In such cases, each warrior among the regular troops commands the contingent furnished by the ten houses from which he was chosen. From Schamyl down to the lowest officer, the strictest obedience and immediate attention to orders are expected; the slightest insubordination is punishable by death.

Schamyl himself is always surrounded by a chosen body guard, the members of which are called Murtosigators. In the choice of these troops, the greatest precautions are observed: only persons of undoubted bravery and fidelity, who are convicted of the sanctity of their leader's doctrines, are admitted into the band. But though Schamyl is so distrustful and strict in the choice of these soldiers, equally unbounded is his confidence in them, when they once belong to the number of his chosen. But the Murtosigators must purchase the exalted rank in which they stand above the other troops, by heavy sacrifices. They solemnly resign all that binds them to life, as long as they form a member of the chain which surrounds the holy person of the Murschid; the unmarried must remain single, the married, during their years of service, must not have the slightest communication with their families. They must, in imitation of Schamyl, exceed all the other soldiers, in conscientious fulfilment of the Jaryat, in moderation and abstinence. Their whole exertions must tend to the propagation of the new doctrine; they are helpless instruments in Schamyl's hands, and he punishes the slightest insubordination with death.

The number of the Murtosigators amounts to about 1000 men. Their arrangements are entirely after the decimal system: every ten of them have a leader, ten of these leaders again have a chief, and so on. The same is the case with the Naïbs' mounted troops. These leaders have great privileges, wear orders to indicate their dignity, and are highly respected by their subordinates. Only persons who distinguish themselves by

bravery and talent, are selected to fill these posts. Every Murtosigator receives from Schamyl a salary of about £5 monthly, and has in addition a certain portion of the booty. Every aoul to which a Murtosigator is sent, is obliged to support him gratis; the respect which is paid to the Imam's body guard goes so far, that every village regards it as an honour to have one of these chosen warriors within its walls.

A traitor was never yet known among the Murtosigators. They are devoted to the Imam with perfect fidelity and attachment, and are animated by such a martial spirit, that death in battle is regarded by them as the most glorious termination of terrestrial life. They are the terror of the Russian armies, and the support of Schamyl and his troops.

They fight with a courage and *sang-froid* which the Russian officers speak about with admiration. No instance was ever yet known of a Murtosigator falling alive into the hands of his enemies. They are the pillars of Schamyl's authority in peace and war, and the more deserving our attention, as they are not merely distinguished by animal courage and contempt of death, as we find is also the case among the Arabs of the desert, but are kept together by a higher mental bond. In war the leaders in battle, in peace they are the enthusiastic apostles of Schamyl's doctrines, and the executioners of his laws. Although themselves without fortune, they have always large sums of money at their command, which they can employ according to their own judgment in the pursuit of their designs.

They form at the same time Schamyl's secret police. They have a watchful eye every where; any one accused by them is executed without further inquiry. Even the judges and priests are not safe from their prying eyes; and they are the mortar which binds together the stones, out of which Schamyl has raised the fortifications of his power.

Schamyl's revenue, like that of his predecessors Hamsad Bey and Kasi Mullah, formerly consisted only of the booty carried off in war, of which, after similar custom, the leader received a fifth share, the rest was divided according to regular arrangements among the soldiers and lower officers. Other branches of the

revenue were the fines for every neglect of the laws of the Jaryat. In later times, when the authority of the Murschid had extended and was confirmed, Schamyl managed to increase his revenue by regular levies and other arrangements.

The Imam has been frequently accused of avarice and immoderate greed for money, as it is notorious that he has hidden in various secure places at Andi, and in the forests of Itchkeri, treasures of gold, jewels, and other valuables. This charge appears as unfounded as it is unjust. In his position the most conscientious economy is as useful as it is clever. Schamyl required great auxiliary resources, not to perish in the struggle with the continually renewed force of the Tzar, and to carry out his object, the foundation of a new empire in Daghistan. As in temperance and simplicity of life he can serve as a pattern to the lowest of his soldiers, so he is, in every thing referring to himself, extraordinarily saving. But where a brave deed is to be rewarded, a powerful tribe attached to his cause, and in similar important affairs, he is liberal almost to extravagance. While the Russian officers must pay a heavy additional sum for the orders gained by their blood, Schamyl has founded an order for bravery and those severely wounded, which assures the possessor a monthly pension of three silver rubles. From all this it is evident that Schamyl's economy is not of a common stamp.

With the youth of Schamyl's power and influences, as by the introduction of a regular administration, the relations in which he stood to the Naïbs and his subordinates also increased. He was therefore obliged—although his will is implicitly obeyed—to make a quantity of new regulations for the furtherance of business. At the end of 1842, Schamyl arranged a flying post, after the pattern of the Russians, by means of which all news and commands are expedited with incredible rapidity. In each aoul a number of the best horses must always be kept in readiness for the messengers who may pass through. These couriers are provided for the purpose of legitimization with free passes, countersigned by Schamyl or the Naïb. Whenever a courier produces such a pass, a fresh horse is immediately furnished him,

together with an experienced guide. If the courier is rendered incapable, by illness or any accident, of carrying out his commission, he is nursed by the parish, and the chief of the aoul immediately chooses a substitute for him.

We have not been able to discover how, in the time of Kasi Muhammad and Hamsad Bey, the internal arrangements of the tribes obedient to the Murschid were regulated, and in what the pay of the subaltern officers and other officials consisted. Before Schamyl had called his new administrative system into life, he was wont to reward services done him by presents, consisting of horses, arms, sheep, articles of clothing, and frequently money. It was regarded as a great distinction to have received thirty silver rubles from the Imam. In 1840, after the thorough organization of the Murtosigators, several orders were introduced, about whose value and import we have collected the following information :—

The first decoration consists of a round silver medal, which can only be given to a Yus-Baschi (leader of a hundred,) as is seen from the inscription, which runs, “To the Yus-Baschi——, for bravery.”

The second decoration consists of a triangular medal, which is only given to the Utch-Yus-Baschi (leader of three hundred.) The distinction which this order imparts, is as great as its distribution is rare. The inscription upon it is, “To ——, for distinguished bravery.”

The third highest distinction is, silver epaulettes, and sword tassels of the same metal. This decoration invests the owner with princely dignity, and has also great pecuniary advantages accompanying it. Only Besh-Yus-Bashis (leaders of five hundred) can obtain it. These epaulettes are distinguished from the Russian, by not being made of silver wire, but of solid metal.

At the close of 1842, Schamyl commenced to introduce in his army certain grades of rank, after the European fashion. The three principal Naïbs, Ashverdu Mohama, Schwaïb Mullah, and Ulubey Mullah, received the honorary title of general ; the other Naïbs, as well as several chieftains of the Murtosigators, obtained the title of captain.

Those raised to the dignity of general, wore as a mark of distinction two plates of silver, in the shape of a half star, on either side of the chest. The Russian prince, Orbelyanoff, who was long a prisoner among the mountaineers, asserts that he saw on Schwaib Mullah's breast two pentagonal stars. All the other Naïbs, as well as those who bear the title of captain, wear, as a symbol of their dignity, a little silver plate of an oval form. The deputies of the Naïbs, as well as the judges or elders of the village, wear, as a mark of distinction, a small silver plate, something resembling our keyholes in shape.

We must not forget a mark of distinction, of which only one specimen at present exists, which Aschverdu Mahoma, the Murschid's favourite, wears. It is a large silver medal, with the inscription in Arabic:—"There is no second hero like Aschverdu Mahoma; and no second Shashka like his Shashka."

Besides these decorations, Schamyl employs various other methods to give public recognition to those distinguished for their bravery. When several tribes displayed extraordinary courage in the memorable campaign of 1842, handsomely embroidered flags of honour were sent to their Naïbs. At the conquest of the Kurine and Kasikumyk territory, two Russian flags were taken by the Circassians, which the Tzar had given to these tribes for their former devotion to Russia. One of them was given to Schwaib Mullah, the other to Ulubey Mullah, as a reward for their deeds in the forests of Itchkeri, where the two Naïbs defeated the army under the command of Grabbe, and so futilized his scheme of taking Dargo.

The punishments Schamyl has introduced, are as manifold as the rewards. A money fine is paid for the slightest contravention of the Jaryat, or of the prophet's commands—(if the prisoner has no money, a quantity of grain must be paid, equal in value to the fine.) These fines are doubled or increased in proportion to the magnitude of the offence. Any one convicted of a theft, must pay the double value of the stolen property. The one half is given to the lawful owner, and the other is paid into the military chest.

Any one guilty of cowardice in battle, has, as a sign of dis-

grace, a piece of Voilok (coarse felt) bound on his right arm. Any one who has turned his back on an enemy during the engagement, has a similar piece of felt sewn on his back : these dishonouring signs of cowardice can only be removed by repeated marks of bravery. The felt-wearing soldier is strictly interdicted from any intercourse with his family ; and these form the " enfans perdus " in battle.*

Persons who are guilty of greater crimes, are punished with imprisonment as well as fines. The Russians have told many stories about the horrors of this imprisonment, where the prisoners only receive just enough food to protect them against starvation. But any one who has seen the horrible brutality in the Muscovite prisons, will agree with us, that the Russians in this respect are equalled by few, and surpassed by none. In addition, immoderate severity in the punishment of criminals is more pardonable in Schamyl, who rules over a band of unbridled barbarians, than in the powerful Russian Tzar, whose banner floats in three quarters of the globe, and whose nation is counted among civilized Europeans.

The punishment of death, which is appointed for murder, treachery, and breach of faith, consists in execution with the sword, and is divided into two classes, called the honourable and the dishonourable.

The person condemned to the first seats himself with crossed legs on the ground, bares neck and chest with his own hand, bows his head forward after uttering his last prayer, and thus receives the deadly blow. Those persons condemned to the dishonourable death, have the upper part of their body uncovered

* The curious punishment of felt-wearing reminds us of an old Persian fashion, in pursuance of which those soldiers accused of cowardice, whatever rank they might hold, were dressed in female clothes. It is even stated, that in the time of King Abbas, Ali Kuli Khan, viceroy of Choras-san, was obliged to walk about the camp for a whole day, under the jeers of the soldiers, because he had fled in an engagement with Theimuras, King of Georgia. In the Ghulistan of Saadi (Chapter 4,) there is a passage bearing reference to the above custom, in which it is said :—" Ye brave men, follow me, and fight boldly, lest ye be deemed worthy of female clothing."

by the executioner's hand, and the head is slunk off upon a block. A third mode of execution, and the most terrible of all, is stabbing or pistolling. This punishment, however, is extremely rare, and is only exceptionally inflicted on those Murids who are convicted of treason.

Schamyl rules over the subjected tribes of the Daghistan and Tchetchnia as absolute monarch, and has exerted himself strenuously to form one nation out of them. The execution of this great plan, however, is attended by almost incalculable impediments. A number of tribes, among whom we may especially mention Karach, Andi, Salatan, and Andalal, obey the Imam rather through fear than attachment; for the Russians, well aware of the value of these districts, employ all their influence, and spare neither presents nor promises to bring the inhabitants on their side. If, however, Schamyl remains several years longer in the unimpeded possession of these countries, it may be assumed that he will succeed, through his continual right selection of means, in fusing them permanently with his other possessions.

The difficulties with which the Imam has to contend, appear greater the more closely we examine into the condition of Daghistan before his time. He does not form his army of the chivalrous men of the Adichè, Ubychs, and Shapsuch; tribes, some of which have been degraded by years of slavery, others, educated in robbery and plunder, in whose hearts ambitious and ignorant priests had destroyed every feeling of reverence for religion, who knew no other laws than traditional customs and their own will—these were the principal members, out of which Schamyl formed the terrible body, whose soul he is. The most fight from a pure love of liberty; many, however, as can only be expected, for more ignoble ends. Some are seduced by the hope of booty, others by the fire of the eloquence or fear of the certain revenge of the Imam; but the object of all is the expulsion of the Russians from Daghistan.

In former times, the Tchetchenzes were the leading nation in the east of the Caucasus; they were always joined by the Lesghis and Avarians when an expedition was undertaken against the

Russians ; but since Kasi Mullah and Schamyl rose among the Lesghis, things have assumed another aspect : the Lesghis obtained the upper hand, and the Tchetchenzes have, since that time, been in a state of unwilling dependence on them. Schamyl certainly resides in the highlands of the Tchetchenia, but is always surrounded by Lesghis ; the same is the case with Ashverdu Mahoma. When, in 1841, the Nasrani were punished by an inroad, Schamyl summoned Hadji Murad with 500 Lesghis and Avarian warriors to join him, less for the purpose of strengthening the army, than to frighten the Tchetchenzes, who had given repeated signs of dissatisfaction. This discontent among the haughty inhabitants of the Tchetchenia, has its origin not only in the different origin of this nation, but may also be explained by the slight faith they place in Schamyl's divine mission. However, his influence among the Tchetchenzes is rather increasing than diminishing, and indeed none of the tribes that obey the Imam really know which stands highest in his favour : he terrifies and punishes one by means of the other, and so keeps them all in fear and submission. In order to gain a higher degree of dignity, Schamyl has impregnated his Murids with the idea, that he carries on a regular correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey, and the Egyptian Pacha. The Russians assert that he frequently writes forged letters for this purpose, in which these princes give him assurances of friendship and speedy assistance : that he then sends these false letters to the Kadis and Priests, with orders that they should be read in the mosques and national assemblies.

His pretended communications with Allah and the Prophet, he wisely allows to occur only once, at the most twice, in the year, and usually at a time when he is about to execute some great design.

In order to prepare for the solemnity, he goes either into a hidden cave, or shuts himself up in his apartments, where he spends three weeks in fasting, praying, and reading the Koran. During this time, the house is most strictly guarded, and no one is allowed to enter. On the evening of the last day of his retirement, he assembles the highest leaders and clergy, and an-

nounces to them in a solemn voice, that Muhammad the prophet has appeared to him in the form of a dove, has given him commands, revealed great mysteries, or warned him to continue in the holy war. After this he shows himself to the immense crowd that surrounds the house, sings a few verses from the Koran, and then holds a long speech, full of religious zeal and hatred to the Russians. In this speech, the most important portions of the new revelation are announced to the people, and after this a solemn hymn is sung by the entire assembly; all the arms-bearing men draw their daggers, renew their oath of fidelity, and hatred to the Russians, and then disperse with the exclamation, "God is great; Muhammad is his first prophet, and Schamyl his second."

The Kadis and Mullahs return to their aouls, announce to the people all the miracles they have witnessed and heard, and through the whole country a week of universal rejoicing and festivity follows the long fast of their adored Imam.

Through his strict love of justice, to which even some of his many relations have fallen victims, it was only natural that Schamyl should have a number of powerful enemies, not only among the Tchetchenzes but among the Lesghis; and he would long ago have fallen through the exercise of the blood-revenge, were he not so personally cautious in the choice of his guard. He never appears alone. Access to his person is a matter of extreme difficulty to all who do not possess his confidence. He also is very particular about the strict performance of the appointed ceremonies: any one who approaches him must, without distinction of rank or person, stoop down to the ground and kiss the hem of his garment.

His house is surrounded day and night by numerous guards: if he leaves his residence he is always accompanied by an escort of his most noble Murtosigators. On longer expeditions into those provinces of whose attachment he is assured, his retinue amounts to 500 or 1000 horsemen; but in the Tchetchenia, and other countries where the bribes of the Russians have not been utterly ineffectual, he is always surrounded by 2000 to 5000 men. It is wrong, however, to ascribe this to Schamyl's fear

alone: we know that the suite of Eastern princes always appears to European eyes immoderately large. Schamyl's deputies are also always surrounded by a suite whose number is regulated by their rank.

We cannot refrain from giving in this place the report of a townsman of Mosdok, touching his visit to Dargy Vedenno, Schamyl's residence, which appeared in the *Abeille du Nord* of the 18th and 19th December last, as it furnishes a faithful picture of the mode of life in this inaccessible spot. It is as follows:—

“At the beginning of May, 1848, I arrived with a military convoy at the fort of Vosvichenkaya, introduced myself to Colonel, now Major-general Möller Sakomelski, and told him of my determination to visit the Tchetchenia, in order to see my cousin in Uluhanova, who had been carried off in 1840 from Mosdok, in a foray of the Tchetchenzes, and had afterwards been selected as one of Schamyl's wives. The colonel permitted me to enter into communication with the spies, and through them I commenced a correspondence at first with the Naïbs, Duba, Saadullah, and Dalchik, and through the Naïb Duba with Schamyl himself. The Naïbs answered me that, without the permission of their Imam, they could not approach the fortress. But when I applied directly to Schamyl, three days after my letter had been sent off, the Naïb Duba despatched a messenger to me, with a declaration in Schamyl's name, that several trustworthy men, the Naïb Duba himself, the favourite and privy councillor of Schamyl, Ejie Hadji, the eldest of the villagers of Datchen Barsa and Ulaskart, should be sent to meet me, and serve as my escort to the residence of the Imam.

“When I was informed that Schamyl's deputation had arrived within four versts of the fort, I took leave of the colonel, who warned me against the peril I was exposing myself to; dressed myself in Tchetchni clothing, and left the fortress in the company of two well-mounted men from the subjected Tchetchni village of Ulaga. One of my companions was my konak (guest and friend), the Tchetchenze, Sisa. Along the ravine of the Argun I approached Schamyl's envoys, and when I had arrived within gunshot of them, we discussed the question as to which of us

should advance. The Tchetchenzes would not go further, and they replied to my request that they should deliver me from their hands into those of their co-religionists, and introduce me to them; that they were deadly enemies of Schamyl's people, and, consequently, would not have any thing to do with them. Upon this I spoke to them again, and reminded them that, according to their Muhammadan law, a konak would sooner die than leave his friend in danger. Sisa was convinced by my arguments, and determined to follow me; but my other companion remained behind. When I approached Schamyl's envoys with all proper caution, and arrived about fifty paces from them, I asked my comrade if he recognised any of them. Sisa replied that he only knew one, the Naïb Duba, who was distinguished from the others by his yellow turban.

“ ‘You are welcome, Naïb Duba!’ I called aloud in Tchetchni, saluting him from afar. ‘You are welcome, guest of the Lord!’ the Naïb replied to me, and we gradually approached one another, though both exercising extreme caution, for we apprehended an ambush. When I had drawn considerably nearer to the Naïb, I galloped up and extended my hand to him. We exchanged salutations in the Tchetchni fashion, and then similar salutations passed between myself and Ejie Hadji, who wore a white turban.

“ After various salutations and congratulations, Ejie Hadji asked whether I intended to go straight to Schamyl, or only send him a message through them. I replied that I had no message to send their chief, but only wished to see his wife, my cousin; and I consequently requested the honoured Naïbs to conduct me to their Imam. They said they would gladly fulfil my request. I then turned to my companions, who had already gone some distance, but could hear me say ‘Farewell; go back, and pay my respects to Colonel Möller.’

“ When I had gone about half a verst with my new companions, I saw behind a tall monumental mound (Kurgan) fourteen Tchetchenzes: they were the Naïb's guard, and soon found us. I had to give each of them my hand, and exchange salutations with them all, saying—‘You young people, will you

really conduct me in safety to the presence of your chieftain?' 'We will attempt it,' the horsemen replied, then fell back a short distance, and sang, in a loud deafening voice, a hymn, which is called 'La illa ill' Allah!'

"We then continued our journey merrily into the hills, and soon crossed an arm of the Argun, which here divides into three branches. On the road we frequently passed the farms of hostile Tchetchenzes, which are here called Kutan. Our road was bad, at times very fatiguing; so that we were forced to travel principally on foot, as the road led continually up and down hill through a dense forest. In the woods we saw wild-hogs, which collect in vast herds, and feed on the bark of the plane-tree (Tchinar). The latter grow in immense numbers, and attain an extraordinary height. The most fatiguing part of the journey was the passage of the Shbut mountain; we were all obliged to scale it on foot, and one of the escort led my horse. I conjectured—and my opinion was subsequently confirmed—that I was purposely led by this fatiguing route; for they suspected that I wanted to take notes of the country and roads. It was not till the seventh day that they reached the village of Datchen Barsa, where the Naïb Duba resides, in whose house I passed the night. In the court-yard I noticed a cannon, which was guarded by a sentinel.

"Soon after our arrival, all the inhabitants of the village came to the abode of the Naïb, among them Ejie Hadji, and Tchuka, Duba's father. They seated them on an upper floor of the house, and drank Russian tea beneath a gallery which they call Tchardag. We were witnesses of the merry behaviour of the Naïb's servants toward the crowd of curious natives who filled the house; they eventually armed themselves with sticks, attacked the mob, and drove them away with the words, 'Who are you? what do you want? did you never see a Russian before?'

"We passed the evening in pleasant conversation. I had an excellent supper prepared for me, and a separate sleeping apartment. The next morning we started again, crossed some terrible mountains and another branch of the Argun, in the vicinity of Ulaskart. We made no stay here, but again passed

a hill, and arrived at the village of Mychtayurt. On the other side of the latter we again reached fertile hills, forests, rocks, and precipices; and all these impediments had to be surmounted before we finally reached an immense valley, in the centre of which is situated the village of Vedenno. To the east, about four versts from this village, we perceived a small opening in the mountains, bounded to the right by wooded hills, on the left by a terrible ravine, through which the Chlilo flows. In the centre of this opening a plateau was visible, on which stood a castle surrounded by various buildings. This inaccessible spot is called Dargy Vedenno, and is Schamyl's residence.

"In the castle there is only one gate, and opposite this gate, within the fortress, is a tower with a single gun to defend the entrance. Schamyl's castle is surrounded by two rows of heavy upright posts driven firmly into the soil, between which clay is stamped in. Somewhat to the right of the fortress is a separate village for the Murids, and at a short distance from that a powder magazine, defended by a guard. Before the fortress lies a small aoul, where artisans principally reside, and among them is even a watchmaker. A stream has been led from the hills into the centre of the fortress, and collected in a huge tank, which is called the bathing-place, for the men and horses usually bathe in it. The water flows from the tank into a precipitous ravine, and thence to the Chlilo stream. At a short distance from this spot is the provision store, filled with a stock of maize, corn, and millet, all preserved in large casks.

"I reached Dargy Vedenno on the evening of the eighth day, and was lodged in the house of Ejie Hadji. On the first day Schamyl did not receive me, because no information had been yet collected as to the cause of my arrival; and Schamyl suspected that I might have come with some special commission from the subjected aouls. This information was being collected during three days, and for the whole of that time I hovered between life and death; because, in the event of unfavourable reports about me, my death would have been inevitable. However, I was well treated as regarded eating and drinking; and, although I trembled with apprehension, I retained my external calmness.

On the third day Schamyl invited me to supper in his 'strangers' house,' where those usually dine who are on intimate terms with the Inam. This house is in the centre of the fortress. Here I was received after the Mussulman fashion, in a very hospitable manner. Toward the end of the repast, pillau was served, and I noticed, to my astonishment, that all the guests—and there were a score of them—after eating the pillau, grew very excited, wrinkled their foreheads angrily, and began to regard me in a most hostile fashion. In astonishment and terror I thought to myself, 'Have they only treated you so well hitherto, in order to cut your head off afterwards?' Still, in spite of these thoughts, I retained my external calm bearing, was silent, regarded my companions, and finally consoled myself with the reflection—'It is probably the fashion among them to look angry after eating pillau, and whisper in each other's ear.' I attempted to address some questions to my next hand neighbour, but he deigned me no reply.

"After the pillau, small cakes were handed round, made of maize flour, and very nicely prepared. These formed the dessert; and, while my comrades were seated with very gloomy looks, these cakes were handed me a second time. I declined them, with the remark that I had eaten enough; to which the host replied, 'Eat, your cousin prepared them for you.' 'Ah!' I said, 'if that is the case, I shall eat them with pleasure.' I took a considerable quantity, and begged that my cousin should be thanked in my name for her trouble. During all this time my comrades sat as gloomy as before; they continued to regard me menacingly, until at last a young Murid entered the room, and made some remark in the mountain dialect. Upon this they entirely altered their behaviour to me, addressed their conversation to me, and soon their highest Achund, who sat next me, acted in the most friendly manner.

"Afterwards I discovered all that had appeared so enigmatical to me. It seemed that, during the repast, my cousin waited in an adjoining room, regarded me through a window, and had been asked if she recognised me. At first she did not know me, and replied to the questioner, 'Are you out of your senses? that

is not my brother.' Then she begged, however, that they should get me to speak; and when I, suspecting nothing, spoke with the person who offered me the cakes, she recognised me by my voice, and then declared that I was not her brother,* but her cousin; and at last mentioned my name. My face, which had greatly altered during the last eight years of our separation, and my dress resembling that of the mountaineers, naturally misled my cousin; and, had she not hit on the idea of hearing me speak, I should have been taken for an audacious impostor, perhaps for a spy, and nothing could have saved me from death.

"After this, we remained a long time at table, and the chief Mullah or Achund, Adchioff Kadi, spoke kindly with me, and was evidently cross-questioning me. After supper, I went to my lodgings, at Ejie Hadji's house, where I remained till the next day. I now felt more confidence, and asked Ejie to accompany me in a stroll through the village. During this walk we went to the aoul, visited all the artisans, and, as I wished to try the skill of the watchmaker, I asked him to put a new glass in my watch, which he did in a first-rate manner. From the aoul we went to the powder magazine and other buildings, and soon after our return I received an invitation to dine with Schamyl. I fancied that I should see the Imam on this occasion; but he did not make his appearance, and the guests consisted of some twenty Naïbs who had lately arrived. After the meal, I turned to the chief Achund with the words:—'If I am not worthy to approach the sublime person of your Imam, allow me at least the honour of praying for your intercession that I may see my cousin.' 'God will allow you to see her,' the Achund replied, and then we returned to our quarters. But I hardly reached Ejie Hadji's house, when Schamyl's secretary brought a message to my host, to lead me directly to the place where I should see my cousin. Ejie Hadji bade me take a poniard, himself carried a musket, and we went to the middle fortress, where the wives and treasure of the Imam are kept. At the gate of the middle fortress, which must not be confounded

* In Russia, sister's children are called brother and sister; but to this is added, "of the second generation," *Dvojurodny*.

with the external fortifications, we found two Murids on guard, one without, the other within the gateway. Schamyl never neglects any precautionary measures : he never goes to pray in the mosque except in the company of his Murids, who are drawn up in two ranks, and armed with sabres. In the court of the keep I saw four light field guns, and several similar pieces of artillery on the walls.

“My cousin’s apartment was decorated with carpets, and contained chairs and ottomans, resembling the Georgian *tachta*. My cousin came to meet us from the other room, accompanied by six females. I bowed to them, and Ejie Hadji remained on the threshold. My cousin inquired after my health, then we seated ourselves on the *tachta* and the chairs. In a few minutes my cousin’s companions rose one after the other to salute me, but their faces were veiled. After the termination of the usual salutations, they bowed and quitted the room, in which only my cousin, my companion, and myself, remained. I then begged her, in Armenian, to unveil ; but she replied in the Kumyk language, that, although she understood me, she might make some mistakes, and therefore begged me to converse with her in Kumyk. I perceived her anxiety, lest I might be suspected of imparting some secret to her, and I therefore immediately explained to Ejie Hadji, that I had begged my cousin, in Armenian, to uncover her face ; at the same time, I requested him to join his persuasion to mine. Ejie walked up to her and said, in the mountain dialect : ‘Mother ! as, according to our customs, a woman may never unveil except before her brothers, so regard me as your younger brother, and unveil your countenance as a recompense to our guest, for the fatigue he has undergone in scaling our hills for the purpose of seeing you.’ I repeated the same request after Ejie, and my cousin decided on removing her veil. Our conversation now became more animated ; she asked after all her relations, when suddenly a door opened, my cousin hurriedly resumed her veil, and Schamyl entered the room.

“I sprang up from the chair, and Ejie Hadji reverentially kissed the Imam’s hand ; but when I tried to follow his example, Schamyl would not permit it, but seated himself on a *tachta*,

bade me do the same, and then began inquiring about the health of our friends. Schamyl is a stately man, of reverend aspect, with bright red hair and large eyes ; on his face I noticed some freckles, and his beard is dyed red. His dress consisted of a dark silk jacket (*beshmet*,) and a red cloth cloak, resembling those which the Muhammadan clergy wear. On his head he had a red fez, with a large tassel hanging down on one side. On a previous occasion, when I saw him going to the mosque, I had noticed a large turban on his head.

“As soon as I had seated myself on the *tachta*, Schamyl asked me if I had arrived without accident ; whether the road over the mountains had pleased me, and for what purpose I had come. I replied, that the mountains had certainly been picturesque, but the roads so bad, that, if I had known it before, I should not have undertaken the journey. The sole purpose of my journey was to visit my cousin, and see how she fared. Schamyl again inquired from whom I had received permission to travel in the Tchetchenia.

“‘I was so fortunate,’ I said, ‘as to receive your own permission to visit you.’

“To this Schamyl remarked, ‘I would give many persons such a permission, but I do not know who would dare to undertake the journey.’

“‘May God be with you!’ I replied ; ‘my journey to you depended on myself, but my return will depend on your goodwill and pleasure.’

“When Schamyl heard this he smiled, and said, ‘Well, so be it ; but I fancy that no one else will have the courage to undertake such an enterprise for some time hence.’

“Upon this the Imam made inquiries about France, Hungary, and our army. I answered him, to the best of my ability, concisely and clearly ; then I took courage to ask him if he would receive a present from me, according to our custom. ‘Why not?’ he replied. I thereupon drew from my pocket a lady’s gold watch, which I presented to my cousin ; and then handed a gold chronometer and chain to Schamyl. He would not take the present from my hands, and my cousin told me to

lay the chronometer upon the *tachta*, which I did. Schamyl asked, 'Is it then really the custom among you, to give and receive presents?' I answered in the affirmative. After conversing with him for half an hour in the Kumyk language, Schamyl rose and left the room. My cousin upon this unveiled again. Towards evening a repast was served of tea, apples, pears, and grapes.

"After remaining till nightfall we took leave of my cousin, and I went away accompanied by Ejie, who strictly warned me not to tell any one that I had spoken with the Imam; adding, 'If any one asks, merely say you have seen your cousin, but when you have quitted us, you can say what you like.' 'Why so?' I asked; 'do you fancy your companions would laugh at me?'

"'Not only would they not laugh, but they would kill you if you let them know you have met Schamyl.'

"I begged Ejie Hadji to explain to me the meaning of this warning, and he said, 'You have eaten twice with the Naïbs; but why did you not see Schamyl on either occasion at the table? Because, according to the laws of our religion, the Imam does not eat at the same board with the Giaour; now you understand, but if you want to return home in safety, keep a bridle upon your tongue for a season.'

"The next day I requested permission to depart, and asked to take leave of my cousin; instead of any answer to my prayer, I received a horse as a present from Schamyl, and his secretary told me that I should have thirty men as my escort, and the Naïb Duba had received orders to convey me to the neighbourhood of the fort. On the following morning we set out; and as my companion, on this occasion, chose another and much nearer route, I reached my home in comfort on the evening of the same day."

Schamyl lives very modestly and soberly; he eats little, and only sleeps a few hours, and on many occasions, when in a trance, not at all; he has only three wives, and the favourite is said to be an Armenian, probably the cousin of our friend from Mosdok.

How far Schamyl's fanaticism goes in its frightful conse-

quences, is proved by the following occurrence, which was told a Russian officer by one of Schamyl's most confidential Murids :*—

In 1843, the inhabitants of the Great and Little Tchetchnia, who were encompassed on all sides by the Russians, and left without any assistance by the Lesghi tribes, determined on sending a deputation to Schamyl, with the prayer, that he would either send them a sufficient number of warriors to enable them to expel the Russians from the country of the Tchetchenzes, where they had already built Fort Vosdvijensk, and shewed every intention to stop : or, if this were not possible, to grant them permission to subject themselves to the Russian government, as they were entirely without means for further resistance.

For a long while no amateurs were found to undertake such a ticklish commission ; for it was at the risk of life to appear in Schamyl's presence with proposals of such a nature. The Tchetchenzes were consequently compelled to select their deputies by lot, and the choice fell upon four inhabitants of the village of Gunoi. The pride of the savage does not allow a Tchetchenze to display any feeling of fear, even when the most imminent peril is before him ; the chosen men, therefore, undertook the office without hesitation, and promised the people that they would either get from the Imam large reinforcements, or else a permission for them to give up their country to the Russians. With a determined spirit, therefore, the men of Gunoi commenced their journey ; but the nearer they drew to the village of Dargo, the stronger grew the instinct of self-preservation, and the stronger became the light in which they saw the peril to which they would expose themselves. They held council several times, as to how they should best set about the matter, without hitting on any plan which offered them any hope of success. At last the eldest of the deputies, the old and learned Tchetchenze, Tepi, turned to his companions :—

“ You know,” he said, “ that not only the whole nation, but even the Murids nearest to the powerful Imam, dare not utter, without punishment, the word, ‘ Submission to the Giaours.’

* We must not be supposed to vouch for the truth of the following anecdote.—*Translator's note.*

What would be our fate, then, if we were so bold as to appear before Schamyl's face with such a message? He would straightway give orders to cut out our tongues, put out our eyes, or cut off our heads, and all this would not do our people the slightest benefit, but only leave our families fatherless. In order to escape certain destruction, and to gain the end desired, if only partially, I have thought on a more certain plan."

Tepi's comrades earnestly begged him to tell them what this desirable way of escape was.

"As I have heard," Tepi continued, "there is only one person who exercises a decided influence over the Imam, and dares to utter words before him which would entail death upon any other—this is his mother: my konak, Hassim Mullah in Dargo, will gladly assent to introduce us to her, especially if we make him a present of a portion of the money we have brought with us."

The other deputies were perfectly satisfied with this proposal, and authorized their comrade to act entirely after his own judgment. On their arrival at Dargo, the deputation was hospitably received by Tepi's konak; and Tepi took advantage of the first opportunity to tell Hassim Mullah the cause of their grievance, and to ask for his application in the quarter indicated.

"What?" cried Hassim, in horror; "do you think I would so forget my honour, as to lend my hand to any such a disgraceful design as subjugation to the Giaours?"

Tepi put his hand in his pocket, and produced a handful of pieces of gold. Hassim's features immediately assumed a totally different expression; and he begged his friend to tell him the affair once more, as he had probably not quite understood it. At the same time he asked him for what purpose he had brought with him so much money.

"Three hundred pieces," Tepi replied, "have been collected by our whole clan, in order to support our petition. Here are seventy: the other two hundred and thirty we intend to present to the Khanum, if her intercession with her son obtain us permission to surrender to the Russians."

"Good," said Hassim; "I will speak with the Khanum, and hope to procure you what you desire, if you consent to give the

Khanum only two hundred out of the two hundred and thirty pieces you have left, and give me the remainder."

The deputies agreed. Hassim went to the Khanum, an aged woman, universally respected for her generosity, who, however, liked money, and declared her readiness to speak with her son on the subject, the danger of which she did not at all conceal.

On the same evening she entered her son's apartment, who was on the point of sending the Murids collected around him with inflammatory messages to the various tribes.

In spite of this pressing business, which he did not wish to have interrupted, he gave his mother the audience for which she so earnestly begged, and retired with her into a room, where their conversation lasted till midnight. What actually passed between them no one ever learned; and when Hassim Mullah appeared the next morning before the Khanum, he found her pale and with tears in her eyes.

"My son," she said in a trembling voice, "does not dare to decide how the question of the submission of the Tchetchenzes to the Giaours should be answered. He has therefore gone to the mosque, in order to wait in prayer and fasting the moment when the Great Prophet will announce his will to him with his own lips."

Schamyl had, indeed, shut himself up in the mosque, after giving the command beforehand, that all the inhabitants of Dargo should collect round the building, and there wait in prayer until he should come out again.

At this summons, the whole population flocked up, and surrounded the mosque with prayer and lamentation. But thrice four-and-twenty hours passed, many of the prayers sank exhausted from hunger and sleeplessness, until at last the gates were opened, and Schamyl walked out, pale and with swollen features. After whispering a few words to the nearest Murid, he mounted on to the flat roof of the mosque, whither several Murids accompanied him.

Suddenly the Murid sent off by Schamyl returned, accompanied by the Khanum, and also led her upon the roof of the

mosque. The Imam bade her stand opposite to him, and then began, after raising his swollen eyes to heaven :—

“Mighty Prophet, thrice holy are thy commands; thy will be done !”

He then turned to the people, and said in a loud, distinct voice :—“Inhabitants of Dargo ! what I have to announce to you is terrible. The Tchetchenzes have entertained the shameful idea of submitting themselves to the authority of the Giaour, and in their audacity even sent a deputation to ask my consent. These messengers were well aware how daring their commission was ; they therefore did not venture to appear before me, but applied to my unhappy mother, who, weak woman as she was, yielded to their entreaty, and announced to me the prayer of the criminals. My tender attachment to a beloved mother, and her earnest persuasion, rendered me so bold that I undertook to ask the will of Muhammad himself, the favourite of Allah. Here, then, supported by your prayers, I have demanded the judgment of the prophet for three days and nights. He has deigned to give me an answer ; but what a thunderstroke was it for me ! According to Allah’s will, the first person who imparted to me the villainous wishes of the Tchetchenzes was to be punished with a hundred lashes, and this first person was—oh, that I must say it—my mother !”

When the poor old woman heard her name mentioned she uttered a terrible cry, but Schamyl remained inexorable. The Murids tore off the Khanum’s long veil, bound her to a pillar, and Schamyl himself seized the whip, to inflict the horrible punishment. At the fifth blow the Khanum fell down dead, and Schamyl hurled himself at her feet with loud lamentation.

Suddenly, however, he sprang up, and his eyes sparkled with pleasure. He raised himself to his full height, and said in a solemn tone :—

“God is God, and Muhammad is his Prophet ! He has heard my earnest supplications, and permits me to take on myself the remainder of the punishment to which my poor mother was con-

demned. I do it with joy, and recognize therein, O holy prophet! an inestimable sign of thy favour."

And quickly and smilingly he threw off his upper garments, and ordered two of his Murids to inflict upon him the remainder of the lashes. They did so, and covered their master's body with ninety-five bleeding wheals, without his moving a feature. After the last stroke he reassumed his clothing, walked quickly down from the roof of the mosque, advanced among the people, who were trembling from speechless horror and astonishment, and asked in a calm, collected voice:—

"Where are the criminals, for whose sake my mother suffered this terrible punishment? where are the deputies from the Tchetchnia?"

"Here, here!" a hundred voices shouted; and at the next moment the unhappy victims were dragged to the feet of their fanatic lord. No one doubted but that a terrible death awaited the four Tchetchenzes, and some of the Murids had already drawn their heavy sabres, in order to be in readiness to execute the sentence at the first command from the Imam. The Tchetchenzes lay with their faces in the dust; they whispered, in the certain expectation of death, their last prayers, and did not even venture to lift their heads and beg for a pardon which they considered impossible. Schamyl, however, raised them with his own hand, ordered them to take courage, and said:—

"Return to your tribe, and tell them, in reply to their criminal, inconsiderate demand, all that you have seen and heard here."

It needs scarcely be said, that no deputation ever again appeared in Dargo on a similar mission; for it was now known what might be expected from a man who did not hesitate to sacrifice the life of a beloved mother, or even his own, to his policy.

In spite of their iron firmness, which does not even recoil from bloodshed, Schamyl has done all in his power to exterminate the *Vendetta*, which prevails among several tribes of the Caucasus, and to make it appear a horrible sin in the eye of his devotees. It is most likely though, that he has been induced to

do this, because many a brave has already fallen in consequence of this sanguinary custom, who otherwise would have increased the number of Schamyl's warriors.

In Daghistan the blood-revenge is pursued with greater savageness than in any other part of the Caucasus. Even the Corsican vendetta is far behind the Circassians; and certain families in Daghistan have, from time immemorial, carried on an uninterrupted war of extermination. Schamyl has succeeded in introducing in some parts a custom of taking money, or a number of horses or sheep, as a compensation. At the same time, in order to restore peace between two families, and to render the number of victims equal on either side, children are given up to be murdered in cold blood.

CHAPTER VII.

PRINCE WORONZOFF.

THE EXTENT OF WORONZOFF'S VICEROYALTY—HIS ORIGIN—HIS PART IN THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE FRENCH AND TURKS—HE IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF NEW RUSSIA AND BESSARABIA—HIS CONDUCT IN THE CRIMEA—HIS APPOINTMENT AS VICEROY-GENERAL OF THE CAUCASIAN PROVINCES—HIS SEVERE AND YET HUMANE ADMINISTRATION—THE TRADE IN CIRCASSIAN GIRLS PARTIALLY RESTORED BY HIM—PRINCE WORONZOFF'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

WE have already mentioned in the general war history of the Caucasus, that after the Generals Yermoloff, Rosen, Golovine, Grabbe, Sass, Wiliaminoff, and Neidhardt, had carried on with more or less success the tedious war against the Circassians, Prince Woronzoff was eventually selected by the Emperor for that post. For nearly ten years he has been opposed to Schamyl, who must recognize in him a worthy foe; for both fight with enthusiasm for the cause which they have made their own. We, think, therefore, we shall be justified in giving a short account of the Russian commander's life and character.

We have already mentioned that since Potemkin, under Catharine II., no Russian subject has been invested with such power as Prince Woronzoff now holds. The viceroyalty, which the autocrat of all the Russias has intrusted to him, is bounded on the west by the Bukovina, extends over a great sea, joined with the Mediterranean by a narrow strait, and contains the whole of the isthmus stretching southwards between the Black and Caspian Seas. No European empire is equal in extent to this viceroyalty.

Michael Woronzoff was born at St. Petersburg in 1782, and

is the son of a distinguished statesman, Count Simon Woronzoff, who died in London, to which court he had been sent as envoy. As he had fallen into disgrace after Catharine's death, his son remained for a time in England, and received his education there. But Alexander had scarcely mounted the throne, ere he recalled the young count from banishment, and appointed him one of his pages. Court life, however, was not the sphere which suited the young man, and he soon after joined the corps of the Caucasus as a lieutenant, which was at that time commanded by the brave Georgian prince, Zizianoff.

After remaining till 1805 in the Caucasus, the outbreak of the Prusso-French war recalled him to Germany. He took part in it till the treaty of Tilsit; in 1807, the Turkish war broke out, and Woronzoff went as a colonel to Turkey. In the years 1810 and 1811, he distinguished himself in such a manner that he was made a major-general. Napoleon commenced the campaign against Russia in 1812; this caused a hurried treaty with Turkey, and all the troops were concentrated as speedily as possible, to oppose the invader. Woronzoff also took part in the war; and, after Napoleon's expulsion from Russia, he went to Germany and France during the further progress of the campaign. After the termination of the war, his longing drove him again to England, where he was ever glad to reside, until he was recalled in 1823, and assumed the governor-generalship of New Russia and Bessarabia.

With this really commenced his illustrious career, in which he has uninterruptedly laboured for thirty years to promote the welfare of his fatherland. He was the man who carried out the plans of the two founders of Odessa, and under whom trade and commerce flourished in an extraordinary manner. Under Woronzoff's administration the splendid buildings were erected, of which Odessa can now boast; but his activity was by no means confined to his residence, for he governed with creative and talented energy the whole district intrusted to him by the Emperor. The desolate steppes on the north of the Black Sea, which had formerly been partially inhabited by the restless Noghais and their numerous herds, but had been deserted by

them after the occupation of the country by Russia, were again filled with human beings, if only sparingly and gradually. Country and towns grew populous; and, more especially, the German colonies in the neighbourhood of Odessa, attained an unparalleled pitch of prosperity. Prince Woronzoff also did great service in the Crimea. In union with a small number of Russian noblemen, he exerted himself to gain the southern slope of the rocky mountain range to cultivation; the alterations made there have cost millions of silver rubles, especially the vineyards; and palaces in a Gotho-Moorish style, Turkish châteaux and fountains, and Italian villas, are mingled with the simple Tartar tents. But for all this the so loudly praised southern coast of the Crimea will never thoroughly yield to advantageous cultivation.

In the year 1845, commenced the third epoch of Woronzoff's life; for he was led to a new sphere of action by the ukase appointing him viceroy-general of the Caucasian provinces, and commander-in-chief of the corps of the Caucasus. We have already mentioned the surprise felt at the immense power thereby intrusted in the hands of one man, especially as it was believed that he was not any great favourite of the Emperor.

In this new and dangerous career, Woronzoff first secured himself against all foreign interference, by which Neidhardt had been very frequently restricted in the execution of his plans, and demanded liberty of action for all his undertakings. The "Commission of the Caucasus" in Petersburg was consequently abolished, and Woronzoff stood in immediate communication with the Emperor.

It was not long ere he appeared in Tiflis, but though so gentle and kind in his manners, he attacked all disorders with the greatest severity; and within a few weeks, a dozen robbers were hanging on hastily erected gallows, as a terror to the rest.

Of what sort the fortune of war has been, which till now has accompanied him, we have already seen. But in another respect, Woronzoff has given his attention to the country intrusted to him. Through his affability, he gained the hearts of the Georgians or Grusians, who were by no means such faithful subjects to Russia as the Armenians were; and only a few years back

sympathized with Russia's foes. Schamyl was once more active in Circassia, and would probably have met with greater success, had not the talented viceroy sought to destroy his influence, and had recourse to a measure, to which considerable objections may be raised on the score of humanity. Prince Woronzoff, namely, removed the interdict by which Circassian girls could no longer be taken to Constantinople, and believed himself justified by only suffering the trade, when the daughter gave her consent to being sold. In fact, Circassian girls gladly go as slaves to Turkey, more especially to Constantinople, where they usually distinguish themselves through their mental superiority, and in later years frequently return home laden with the blessings of fortune.

It cannot be denied, that this trade with Circassian and Georgian girls has at times great drawbacks for themselves. The unhappy creatures, who are generally put on board the steamer that sails from Trebizonde, reach Constantinople in a most deplorable condition. Any one not thoroughly acquainted with the state of the case, may perhaps almost envy the captain who has under his charge such a poetical cargo : but, unfortunately, these girls are as carefully guarded as if they were so many casks of leeches for the Marseilles market. They are naturally separated as much as possible from the remaining passengers, and huddled together, wrapped in their dusty clothes, like so many negro slaves. They are usually attacked with eruptions of the skin ; for they are most commonly sold by their parents through avarice or poverty, and are delivered to the purchaser almost in a state of nudity. If they were to be provided in the first instance with clean, respectable clothing, the whole of the profits would be lost. A ragged shirt, and a piece of linen to confine it round the shoulders, is the costume in which they huddle together, and whisper about the splendour promised them, or dream and think of their home, from which they have been driven, among strangers in this condition. The slave-dealers, with that narrow-mindedness which characterises every dealer in human flesh, feed these future favourites during the voyage on water and millet broth. It may be easily ima-

gined that they reach the end of their journey in a condition which is of such a nature, that only a few connoisseurs of hidden charms would venture to express an opinion about them. At times, if the merchant wishes to get rid of his wares as quickly as possible, he drives his flock in the miserable condition in which they have landed to the market, or, at the most, throws a feridji over the poor creatures' shoulders—chance generally directs the sale. The buyer keeps at a distance from his merchandise, like a physician from a patient sick with the plague, and drives them before him to one of the numerous institutions where beings of this sort are polished up for the harem. A number of old women earn their living by polishing this raw material. Through the application of remedies, which are guarded with great mystery, the girls are speedily cured of their disease, cleaned and dressed in clean clothes, so that it is difficult to recognise them, if a person had seen them previously in their miserable condition on board ship.*

Prince Woronzoff, by the abolition of the above-mentioned interdiction, gained his object; for Schamyl's emissaries retired without any success. He took advantage of this favourable temper of the Circassians still more, by gaining over some of the princes by means of presents. All the Daghistani provinces, even those, like the mountainous Tabasseran, which did not in any way recognise Russia's authority, but whose inhabitants did not make common cause with Schamyl, were united by Woronzoff into one government, and the brave Armenian prince Argutinski appointed their chief.

Prince Woronzoff, who at present is seventy-two years of age, is of the middle height, and has a very modest and simple appearance, which gains by longer conversation and acquaintance. His countenance does not express the genial temper he possesses; for his forehead is low, and his features have nothing marked about them. But, however much he loves simplicity for his own part, in certain instances he develops an immense amount of pomp,

* While these sheets were being printed, I have discovered that this passage is extracted from Bayle St. John's "The Turks in Europe."—L. W.

which is quite in contradiction to his usual modest manner. Since he has held his court in Tiflis, this has been the case even more than it was at Odessa.

Persons who have lived some time near Prince Woronzoff's person, assert that he is not only a good father within his own domestic circle, but also in reality a parent to his subjects. All his actions have something chivalrous and noble about them ; and, besides repaying the confidence of his master in the most conscientious manner, he also employs a great portion of his revenues, and his own large fortune, in the improvement of the countries intrusted to him, and the condition of the nation beneath his authority.

CHAPTER VIII.

A SOLDIER'S LIFE IN THE CAUCASUS.

THE WAR UNIFORM OF A RUSSIAN SOLDIER—THE MARCH—THE BAND—CONVERSATION OF THE SOLDIERS—THE HALT—THE EMPEROR'S PISTOL—THE CHASTISEMENT OF REBELLIOUS AOULS—THE ARMS OF THE CIRCASSIANS—THEIR MODE OF FIGHTING—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AMONG THE CIRCASSIANS—THE DEGRADED OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY—THE GUNNER KUSNETSOFF—THE COSSACK ATATSCHIKOFF—THE CAPTIVITY OF BARON VON TURNAU AMONG THE UBYCHS—THE CORPSES OF THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN IN BATTLE—THE RETREAT OF THE RUSSIANS—THE RUSSIAN FORTS—COMPARISON BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS IN THE CAUCASUS AND THE FRENCH IN ALGIERS.

THE war costume of the Russian soldier is not the same as he wears for parade. Tchako and helmet are exchanged for the forage cap, which, it is seen, affords but slight protection against the terrible Circassian shashka. Circassian nobles sometimes wear a breastplate which is bullet-proof; on the other hand, the small balls which the Circassians use, barely pierce through the Russian uniform, and even the bayonet is unable to traverse the Circassian breastplate. In such a case the Russian soldier falls beneath the blows of his enemy, if he does not cleverly rush upon him, seize him round the waist, throw him down and kill him.

The light war uniform of the Russian soldier is a matter of necessity; for he could not endure heavy accoutrements on his terribly fatiguing marches. In order to render it as light as possible, a linen bag, fastened with a leathern strap, is substituted for the infantry knapsack, in which he carries his tobacco-pipe, brushes, and the little pot used to boil soup; for the Russian soldier likes warm food, and, if he can procure nothing better, boils water and shreds his bread into it. In the bag are

his provisions for six days, his necessary linen, and a small mirror. To these objects a prayer-book is sometimes added; and any one in possession of such an article usually receives the honorary office of reader during the halt. As soon as the march recommences, he retires into his nothingness, and his place is occupied by the merry story-teller, who makes them forget the fatigues of the march by the narration of all sorts of funny tales and anecdotes.

On the march the soldier is allowed to carry his musket as he pleases, on his shoulder or his back, in order, by this change, to make the weight less perceptible. The muskets of the Russian army are very heavy, and not always of the best quality. It is natural that much elegance cannot be expected among soldiers, more especially if they are serving in the Caucasus. His boots, whose soles are strengthened with hobnails, are pulled on over the trousers, and he carries his cloak in a bundle over his shoulder. He is always ready and in good-humour; for when in the field he receives a daily ration of wine. The officer hopes for promotion and orders. The baggage is laid on arabas—carts with two immense wheels—the music strikes up, and the column sets itself in motion.

This music is generally a subject of great surprise to the mountaineers. When it echoes through the quiet aouls, the inhabitants hurry out, and listen to the strange and novel tones. Many creep up quite close to the instruments, and hold their ear to the sounding-holes; we were even once witness, that one of these children of nature laid his ear in a listening position upon the stick of the drum-major.

The column marches further: it is long, and appears to have no end; for the ground is sometimes of such a nature, that the troops are compelled to march in Indian file. The column is visible at a considerable distance; for the glistening bayonets reflect the beams of the sun. The Cossacks of the Don form the rearguard, and the Cossacks of the line perform the duty of reconnoitring the country.

When it is intended to take the enemy by surprise, soldiers march so noiselessly, that a bird would be heard to fly. As

the enemies' spies creep about in every direction, the leaders of the expedition keep its object a profound secret.

We will join the column after it has ascended the mountain, and appears to be lost in the clouds, and listen to the conversation of the soldiers, which will give us an insight into their ideas and thoughts.

"See!" said one, "folks always declared that the clouds were ice, but they're nothing more than fog."—"Do you see," another adds, "the rainbow on the rock? folks tell it draws up water; but there's not a drop to be seen on the rock where it has rested. It is only the reflection of the sun."—"Ah!" says another, "if we keep on climbing so high, we shall reach heaven. How great is the power of God!"

It is impossible to look down from the summit of these mountains without feeling giddy. The deep ravines which intersect the ground, frighten even the boldest; and yawning abysses appear always ready to swallow any unfortunate man whose foot slips. But for all this, one soldier says to the other:—

"Look there, those stones are quite round below us: some are large, some small: the large ones containing little ones. Do they come from heaven, or do they grow there? It can be no good spirit that plays with such balls."—"When we," says another, "get to Arabia (Avaria) or to India (the aoul of Andi), we shall find such a quantity of Burkas that we can make tents out of them."

Another picture. The column halts; the arms are piled pyramidically; and, if there is sufficient room, tents raised. If the space is not sufficient for this purpose, the officer satisfies himself with his cloak, upon half of which he lays himself. Fires are lighted, and each warms himself in turn. Those who are sleepy go to sleep when they like, and sometimes their cloaks are attacked by the flames. In such cases they wake him and say, "Thou hast caught a fox."

The samovar (tea-kettle) always accompanies the officers of the same tent. How good is tea upon these marches! It

warms and cheers the drinker; and though, when drunk every day, it is only regarded as a usual beverage—under these circumstances is a welcome treat.

Rich officers take all sorts of provisions, wine, poultry, and porter, on their baggage-carts with them. But the poor ones have nothing but millet flour and tallow, and mutton either roast or smoked. When it rains continuously, the water makes its way through the tents, and soaks clothes and all. Their condition is then so unpleasant, that it is only surpassed by the frightful summer heat, which torments the soldiers with unquenchable thirst.

When the column reaches a friendly aoul, the inhabitants come up and bring fruit, milk, eggs, and butter, for sale. They receive Russian money for them, but prefer silver to copper, and will only take the latter at half its value.

With the first beams of the sun the column again starts; but the march in the mountains is often so fatiguing, that only fifteen versts, a little more than ten miles, are traversed in a day. It often happens that the guns can only be carried over the mountains on the shoulders of the troops. A cannon is the terror of the Circassians. They call it, exaggerating its effect, "a thousand men," or jokingly, "the Emperor's pistol."

When the Russians punish an aoul which has rebelled, it is rarely attacked unawares. The inhabitants then desert their dwellings before the Russians come up, carry off all they possess, and only leave the naked walls behind. They fly to the mountains, and take the requisite steps to cut off the retreat of the Russian forces, or to meet them with a shower of bullets in suitable places. In such cases their crops are destroyed, and their saklis burnt down.

Sometimes, however, the inhabitants remain in the village, and intrench themselves in their subterranean cabins, which must in such a case be taken by storm, and which can only be done with a great sacrifice of lives. The Russians are obliged to break down the walls in order to go from one sakli to another, while a storm of bullets is poured upon them from above. The

battle then rages in the lanes and upon the rocks. It is a desperate contest of man to man, in which bayonet and sword contend against the Circassian dagger and sabre.

The Circassians regard their arms as their most valuable property. They preserve and hand them down to their posterity as the most holy relics; and hence we find in their possession the rarest sabres, the most valuable poniards, lances from the time of the Crusades, or Italian pistols with Latin inscriptions, which give an account of the maker and first possessor of these weapons.

As a proof of the excellence of the Circassian arms, the fact may be mentioned, that the barrels of the Russian muskets have frequently been cut through in battle by one stroke of the shashka. The Russian officers would do well to use sabres of the same sort. The Circassians have learned how to defend themselves against the bayonet; while the Russian soldiers are ignorant how to guard off the furious blow of the Circassian shashka. The Russians usually fire without taking aim. This is very proper opposite a regular line, but not against the scattered Circassians. Finnish tirailleurs have in consequence been lately sent to the Caucasus, and the Russian method of firing has been improved, though the Russians are still far inferior to the French, English, or Prussians, in this respect.

When an aoul is attacked, the defenders are cut down, and the women and children carried off as prisoners. During the fight no pardon is granted. It would be difficult to say, which of the belligerent parties is least cruel to its prisoners. The captives of the Caucasians become slaves, and are forced to work in the fields, or they are shut up in prisons, where they are frequently beaten, until their ransom arrives. Naturally much depends on the humour of the master, into whose hands they fall, and some chain up their prisoners during the night. As regards the barbarous custom of running short horse-hairs through the heels of the prisoners, to prevent them from escaping, this is very rarely done, and only to those who have made repeated attempts at flight.

The Circassians make a distinction between a deserter and a

prisoner. Every one who comes voluntarily to them, is hospitably received, and there are several Russian deserters, who live quietly in Lesghi or Circassian villages. They have, in fact, become Circassians, and have wives and children. The Circassians, however, distrust renegades, although less so than the Algerians, who always forced deserters to fight in the first rank. As the Russian soldiers on duty in the Caucasus are usually well treated, and the mode of life among the mountaineers possesses no great attraction for them, they are seldom tempted to desert, and expose themselves to the risk of being recaptured and having to run the gauntlet. Even among the Poles, the deserters are not so numerous as might be expected.

Among the troops of the Caucasus—which is a species of military and political Botany Bay for Russia—there is a numerous class of men who are in a most peculiar and exceptional position—we mean the degraded. It might be presumed that this class would furnish a great number of deserters, but such is not the case. The degraded, who are not punished for any dishonest action, are treated so indulgently that they never think of joining the enemy. The officers, when not on duty, continue to associate with their former comrades; while the privates treat them with the same respect as before. Of course, a general or commander-in-chief is more particular; for instance, he cannot invite a degraded to his table, &c.

Among the most notorious Russian deserters we may mention Kussnetsoff, a gunner of the Russian artillery, who, because his general gave him a severe punishment for an oversight, deserted to Schamyl, and bore with him an irreconcilable hatred against Russian nobles and officers. He continually begged Schamyl to place the life of every Russian officer who was captured at his disposal: but the Circassian sultan always refused to accede to this wish. One day, however, when Schamyl had again taken two-and-twenty Russian officers, Kussnetsoff swore that he would have their lives. He stopped the provisions sent them from the Russian camp, opened a cask of honey, and found in it a letter addressed to a lieutenant-colonel among these officers, in which the mode of escaping, together with the other

officers, was explained to him. Kussnetsoff showed this letter to Schamyl, and received permission from him to dispose of the prisoners in what way he thought proper. He had them all hanged.

Atatschikoff, a Cossack officer, who deserted to the Circassians in consequence of an insult received from his superior officer, was not so cruel to Gleboff, the adjutant of General Neidhardt, who was sent with despatches to St. Petersburg. Atatschikoff, who heard of it, induced the Circassians to lie in ambush for him on the road to Stavropol, and received orders to carry out this project himself with six Lesghis. Gleboff was a man of extraordinary courage; but was forced to yield after receiving a very dangerous wound. He regained his liberty eventually for the sum of two thousand silver rubles.

There are even cases of Circassians deserting to the Russians, although this will hardly be credited.

Baron Turnau, the adjutant of General Gurko, went in disguise among the Ubychs, in order to gain some knowledge of their country. He was recognised, thrown into a dungeon, where he suffered terribly, as his ransom was a long time in arriving. A slave of the chieftain who kept him prisoner, murdered his master, whose conduct had excited his vengeance, liberated the baron, and carried him back to the Russians on his own horse.

The Circassians never suffer the bodies of their brothers to lie on the field of battle, or remain in the hands of the enemy. They would sooner resign the victory than desert their dead; and after every engagement they send a deputation to ask them from the Russians. One day General Rayeffski, who commanded the right wing, said to them as he gave up their fallen countrymen, "I do not wage war upon the dead;" the Circassians replied, "We will pray God that he will not suffer thy body to remain unburied, if thou shouldst ever fall in battle."

The Russians also carry off their dead when they can, and, more especially, the Cossacks are very particular about paying the last honours to their fallen brethren.

The greatest misfortunes occur to the Russians on their re-

treat. The enemy wait for them in the forests and defiles; and if the Russians have not observed the precaution to occupy the latter beforehand, which is not always possible in distant expeditions, they lose more men through it than during the whole of the march, without mentioning the booty, which is often taken from them again, with a portion of their own baggage. The retreat, upon which prisoners and wounded have generally to be conveyed, is always difficult, and surrounded by dangers of every description. The march of the army is more fatiguing, and demands more victims than even the battle itself. Besides this, fever and pestilence cause great destruction in the Russian army; and it may be assumed, from the inquiries that have already been made, that 20,000 men are annually carried off by disease.

The question will very naturally be asked, When will this war terminate? The subjected souls revolt again as soon as the Russians retire, or the Murids arrive there; and the Russian officers assert, that there will never be peace in the Caucasus until all the inhabitants are destroyed—a measure which is almost impossible, however great Russia's desire to carry it out may be. It is true that colonies might be established, but the population of Russia is not so numerous that she can spare any for this purpose; and, in addition, the inhabitants of the plains do not desire to leave their fertile fields for the sake of cultivating patches of rock.

The Russian forts are too far apart to render material assistance to any one of them that is menaced; while the Circassians can concentrate their forces, and would probably be able to destroy these forts in detail, if they possessed any knowledge of the strategic art, or had artillery at their command. In the meanwhile they make furious inroads upon the Russian colonists, carry off their flocks, and at times the wives of the Cossacks. Besides this, the Russian forts, although very numerous, are far from sufficient to carry out the object designed.

The system of forts which the French formerly employed in Algiers was given up by Marshal Bugeaud, and instead of them light columns were introduced with considerable advantage. However, the movements of troops are much more difficult in

the Caucasus than in Algiers, and the Russians still have much to learn from the French in the art of war. The highest point of the Atlas mountains is 7000 feet, but that of the Caucasus, 17,000. In addition to this, the forests of the Caucasus present far greater obstacles to the passage of troops than is the case in Algeria. In both countries there are swamps. But in Algiers *saklis* are unknown. The French soldier, too, is far more adapted for a highland war than the Russian, who, in an irregular skirmish, where he does not feel a neighbour at his side, generally loses his presence of mind. Russian soldiers must be concentrated in large bodies, and be constantly under command—and, so long as there is not a change in this system, the Russian soldier will never become a good *tirailleur*. The Russians did not learn the plan of punishing the enemy by *razzias* from the French, for the Cossacks never carried on warfare in any other fashion, and Yermoloff was the first Russian general who practised the system.

It would certainly be a change very advantageous for both parties, could the Emperor of Russia lend the Emperor of France ten to twenty thousand of his light Cossacks, to pursue the Beduins and Kabyles in the Algerian plains: while, on the other hand, the light and active Zouaves, *Tirailleurs*, and *Chasseurs d'Afrique*, are peculiarly adapted to carry on a war of extermination against the *Tcherkess* and the *Tchetchenzes*, from bush to bush, and from rock to rock.

CHAPTER IX.

SKETCHES OF THE CAUCASUS.

DAGANOFF'S CAPTIVITY.—A DESERTER CONVERTED TO ISLAMISM.—MAJOR KASKOMBO AND HIS FAITHFUL SERVANT, IVAN SMIRNOFF.—A COSSACK AMONG THE CIRCASSIANS.—CAUCASIAN ROBBER LIFE.—THE GERMAN PHYSICIAN AND THE GRATEFUL CIRCASSIAN.—ANECDOTES OF THE WAR.

COUNT POTOCKI, in his "*Voyage dans les Steppes d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*," mentions a Russian officer of the name of Daganoff, who was taken prisoner by the Tchetchenzes while going to pay a visit to his father. As he belonged to the family of the Dimers of Noghai Krasnai, he was better treated than the rest, and his knowledge of the Tartar languages was of great service in alleviating his sufferings; the women more especially took an interest in him, and he was frequently allowed to associate with them, and his chains taken off. After a captivity of six months, he was at last exchanged for a Circassian prisoner, and thus regained his liberty.

A soldier of the Kur regiment was for a length of time kept a prisoner by the Lesghis, and was eventually liberated by his own regiment, which formed part of the expedition of 1837. He related that, in the same aoul in which he was kept prisoner, a deserter lived who had been converted to Islamism; but whenever he saw him he begged for the cross, which the Russians wear on their bosom, which he would kiss, thus evincing his penitence for giving up his original belief.

Major Kaskombo, a Greek by birth, who was appointed commander of the port of Lars, was escorted to that place by about fifty Cossacks. The Tchetchenzes received information of this, laid wait for the major, and attacked him with a very superior force. Half of the Cossacks were cut down, and the others de-

terminated to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and barricaded themselves behind their dead horses. A Tchetchenze who was acquainted with the Russian language, or else was a deserter, cried, "It is not our intention to do you any harm: give us up your major, and then go in peace."

When the major heard this, he voluntarily advanced, and gave himself up, to prevent any further bloodshed. He had scarcely done so when a Russian corps appeared, which had hurried up to his assistance, but the Circassians contrived to get off in safety with their prisoner.

A soldier, by name Ivan Smernoff, the major's servant, would not leave his master, and consequently sought him out among the Circassians, with the intention of liberating him if possible, and in this he eventually succeeded.

The two prisoners were sent to a distant aoul, and then entrusted to the charge of an old Tchetché, called Ibrahim, who had lost two sons in the engagement with the Russians, and was delighted at having found an opportunity to avenge his misfortune by ill-treating the prisoners. The Tchetchenzenes demanded ten thousand rubles for the major, who wrote several letters on the subject: but, as it seems, the Russian government at that day pursued the plan of not ransoming prisoners, in order to give the Circassians no inducement to make them.

Ivan exerted himself to lighten the heavy weight of his chains, by instructing his guardian in the preparation of Russian food and beverages. The major spent his time in singing to the guitar, and the Tchetchenzenes, who are great admirers of music, very frequently commanded him to display his skill. Ivan danced in the Cossack fashion, and succeeded by this and other schemes in gaining the favour of his masters; and, finally, when the Imam of the aoul said to him, that his chains should be removed if he would change his religion, this faithful servant made the sacrifice, in order to have his hands free for the liberation of his master.

In order to dispel any doubts about his sincerity, he accompanied the Tchetchenzenes on one of their expeditions across the Terek. The Circassians were repulsed, and Ivan, who wore the

Russian cap and uniform, became the mark for the bullets of the Cossacks, but, fortunately, was not hit. While crossing the river, he saved the life of a Tchetchenze, who swore eternal friendship with him, and whose sisters afterwards informed Ivan that a plot had been formed to kill him, as he was feared and distrusted.

The Circassians set out on a new expedition, and Ivan determined to die or to escape on this night. As he was not allowed to speak with the major, they conversed by means of singing. On this night there was a great deal of music, for they had so much to discuss.

At last, Ivan, taking advantage of the opportunity, gave his keeper Ibrahim, who was sitting near the fire, such a well-directed and tremendous blow, that he fell back into the flames, and was unable to extricate himself. Ivan then strangled the old man's wife, who hastened in on noticing the smell caused by Ibrahim's burning beard, as well as the child, which might have betrayed them by its cries.

The key of the major's chains could not be found in Ibrahim's pockets, and they were consequently compelled to attempt their escape in the best manner they could. Ivan guided his master, and at last carried him, until they reached a cabin, when the major succeeded in freeing himself from his chains. They had chosen a road in the opposite direction to the one in which the Circassians would probably pursue them. They had gained the summit of the mountain, and looked down on the plains on which the Russian army was encamped: but Kaskombo, exhausted by his exertions, could not proceed further. Ivan then went alone to an aoul which was subjected to the Russians, where, after looking for an isolated cabin, he promised the occupier one hundred silver rubles if he would assist the major. The Circassian agreed, and helped to carry the major to the Russian camp. In this manner a captivity of eighteen months terminated, during which the private had entirely changed character with his superior officer.

A French traveller spoke in Anapa to a Cossack who had been taken prisoner in a colony of Russians, during an inroad of the Circassians into Kuban. He remained a long while with a

Circassian prince, who made him work in the fields, and wished him to marry a Circassian. As the Cossack, however, strangely declined this proposition, he was shut up with his fair bride, and so compelled to marry her. In order to revenge himself for the ill-treatment to which his master had subjected him, he shut him up in his own house, set fire to it, and then fled with his wife to an adjoining hill, whence he watched with delight the progress of the flames. He now proceeded to another prince, whom he knew to be an enemy of his former master, and who treated him very well, probably out of gratitude for having freed him from his foeman. Sold and resold an innumerable number of times, the Cossack at length reached Constantinople, and returned thence to Anapa in a Turkish vessel.

Next to slavery, the predatory life of the Circassians is most adapted to attract public attention; for while it has almost entirely disappeared among us, and even from our romances, it is in the fullest developement in the Caucasus, where even princes do not hesitate to carry on their robberies openly.

Abdullah Bey, son of the Cadi of Tabasseran, opposed with the greatest obstinacy all the designs of the Russians to attach him to their interests, probably because he was so well satisfied with the result of the robberies he carried out on a great scale, that the Russian offers possessed no attraction for him. At the same time, however, there was another Daghistani prince, Muhammad Khan, who evinced the greatest desire to be on amicable terms with the Russians, and to recover the principality of Ulumey, which his father had lost by his breach of faith to the Russian general, Radaboff. He obtained gunpowder from the Russians, undermined the house of the robber prince, and blew him up with his family and all his guests. For this he was rewarded by receiving the incomes of several aouls.

In Yekaterinodar, Moritz Wagner formed the acquaintance of a German physician attached to the military hospital, who had been twice degraded in consequence of duels. The Circassians frequently asked his assistance, but they prefer payment in provisions rather than in money. After a sanguinary contest, the

physician found among the dead an aged Circassian, who still evinced some signs of life. He had him carried to his house, and he owed his recovery to the kind nursing of the physician and his wife. He was a mullah, and fled again to his home as soon as he was capable of enduring the fatigue. Soon after a young Circassian came to the physician, and begged him to go with him and visit a patient. The Circassian led him rather a long distance into the house of the mullah whose life he had saved, and who by feigning a disease, as was afterwards proved, earnestly implored him to stay several days with him. During this time the Tcherkess made a marauding expedition to the stanitza where the doctor lived. This predatory attack was perfectly successful, and all the inhabitants of the Cossack village who did not find their death, were carried off as prisoners—a fate which would indubitably have fallen to the lot of the doctor, had not the mullah enticed him away by this stratagem.

We will end this chapter with an account of the campaign of 1841, as extracted from the diary of a Russian officer engaged in the expedition; for it gives a most interesting and detailed account of the Circassian mode of warfare.

Through Schamyl's restless exertions, in the year 1840 a great number of the peaceful tribes in the vicinity of the northern line had resumed hostilities, both in the west and the east. Still, things had become far more unfavourable to Russia's authority on the Sundja, the Terek, and along the Koïssu, where Schamyl's power was universally recognised, than in the steppes of the Kuban and the Laba. General Grabbe's personal appearance on the left wing of the Army of the North was, therefore, absolutely necessary. From all quarters news arrived at Grotschnoi of the desertion of peaceful aouls and clans. The exertions of many long years now appeared entirely useless. Grotschnoi was cut off from the line of the Terek by the desertion of the Tchetchni tribes between the Sundja and the Terek; the war-cry resounded from the peaceful aouls of smaller and larger Tchetchnia; even beyond the Koïssu several tribes revolted, and menacing movements were perceptible among the Kumyks.

General Grabbe started, in the spring of 1841, with a portion

of his staff and a military escort from Stavropol, on his journey to Tjervlenna, on the Terek. He had given orders to penetrate directly into the country of the independent Tchetchenzes, without paying attention to the revolted clans around, and, before all, conquer and destroy Tcherkey on the Koïssu. This town, as the chief commercial emporium of northern Daghistan, was of immense importance to the mountaineers, and so far its occupation would be of considerable value to the Russians.

In Tchervlenna the troops were to assemble from various points on the line, and preparations for the impending campaign were made here. This stanitza has existed since the reign of Catharine II. At that time it was built by a mutinous cavalry regiment, which was sent here as a punishment. When the soldiers had established their abode, they carried out a second rape of the Sabines, by making inroads into the country of the Tchetchenzes, and carrying off their women. The descendants of these wild soldiers are now celebrated as the finest race of men in the whole of the Russo-Caucasian territory. Their women have retained their primitive manners and costume—they have only abolished the veil; and the men of Tchervlenna observed many habits of the Tchetchenzes. If we also take into consideration that all the Cossacks of the line, and very many officers of the other divisions of the army, have assumed the comfortable Circassian dress in lieu of the uniform, which is almost unbearable in this hot climate, you might almost have fancied at Tchervlenna, that you were in an aoul of the mountaineers. The Tchervlenna Cossacks bear a great physiognomical affinity to the Asiatics, whose virtues and vices they also share to a considerable extent. At least the lengthened stay of Russian officers on leave in this stanitza, seems to indicate something else than the mere use of the hot baths in the vicinity.

Schamyl, on the other hand, does not appear, for his person, to have given up reprisals for this rape of the Tchetchenzi women; for his harem is principally composed of Russian Christians, and a few years back he carried off, in a razzia of this description, the wife of a tradesman of Mosdok. Unfor-

tunately, the few days of our stay in Tchervlenna were too much occupied with other business, to allow me to inquire more closely into all these matters.

The march was along the left bank of the Terek to Tchederinskaia. Here more troops belonging to the expedition joined us, the Terek and Akai were crossed, and we then proceeded in a south-eastern direction to Andreyeff.

Here we were surprised by the news that General Golovine had advanced from Tiflis, on the great eastern military road, as far as Tarki, then proceeded in a westerly direction through Northern Daghistan, as far as the Koïssu, and attacked Tcherkey from the water side, without sending General Grabbe any information. This seemed the more extraordinary, as the command of this expedition belonged to the general of the Army of the North, through the position of Tcherkey. But events of this nature frequently occur, even in the Caucasus. Hence it is natural, in consequence of the great independence of the various leaders, that misunderstandings take place among them, which lead to rivalry, though no one generally suffers through it except the poor soldiers, whose lives are thrown away; and yet Russia is forced to such immense sacrifices in the Caucasus, that every man here uselessly lost is of double value.

On this occasion Golovine's attack was unsuccessful, for, on the water side, Tcherkey was perfectly defended by masses of rock, in which the Tchetchenzes had formed embrasures and breastworks; the river itself, although narrow, forcing its way through rocks with frightful rapidity, could neither be crossed in boats, nor was it possible to build a bridge. After General Golovine had uselessly bombarded the rocks of Tcherkey for several days, and many Russians had been killed by the Tchetchenzes, who were protected from our fire, he perceived the impracticability of his attempt. Simultaneously, he was informed of our approach; and he therefore left a small corps under General Vegesack before the town, while he himself crossed the Koïssu at the northern extremity of Daghistan, near Kozdek, and tried to join Grabbe's army. We had, in the meanwhile, marched in a southerly direction from Andreyeff, engaged in constant skir-

mishes with the enemy, who awaited us in the forests and behind rocks, and met Golovine's troops on the Indjkeh (a confluent of the Koïssu), near the defile of Kubar.

A battle scene, which will give a clear idea of the character of the Adighè as warriors and allies, I had an opportunity of witnessing during our march from Andreyeff. Six mounted Tchetchenzes had been surrounded by our men in a wood. They had retired fighting, and had at length reached a solitary majestic tree, which served to protect their rear. In the meanwhile, the Russians poured in from every side; and they perceived that victory was impossible; still they would not accept the pardon offered them. They suddenly drew closer together, and tried to cut a path through the surrounding enemy. Only one broke through the circle, and prepared for flight. The other five had thrown themselves from their horses, and stabbed them in their usual fashion; for they intended to destroy as many of their enemies as they could. At this moment they perceived the flight of their friend, and recalled him. He immediately wheeled his horse round, cut his way to his friends, thrust his poniard into the chest of his horse, and fought with them. They all perished. Such are the men who form the living ramparts of the Caucasus!

The defile of Kubar is the only way of access to that portion of the hostile country in which Tcherkey is situated, on this side the Koïssu. But that this road, especially at such a season of the year, should be chosen by the Russian army, seemed so improbable even to the Tchetchenzes, that they had left it unguarded. Like a deep narrow chasm, this passage intersects the northern portion of the eastern Black Mountains, and dense forests stretch down from the summits of the mountains on both sides of the road. On the summit, however, on the higher and less sheltered tops of the mountains, deep winter still brooded: snow and ice seemed to render it impossible to pass. Just before entering the ravine, the news arrived that Schamyl was hurrying up with 8000 men, by forced marches from Tcherkey, in order to occupy the pass. To anticipate him was impossible, so great was the exhaustion among the troops. Night but slightly cooled

the oppressive heat of the past day. A cloudless sky promised the next day of equal warmth, and the confused noises which reached our ears from the forest-clad mountains, announced a few hours later the arrival of the Tchetchenzes beyond the first and most dangerous part of the defile. The Murids, as usual, had accompanied the terrible Schamyl. These Murids form a species of guard to him. Descended from the noblest families, they have collected round their chieftain, and consecrated themselves to death in defence of their fatherland and the Koran. They take and receive no pardon. Their caps are made of white cloth as a mark of distinction, while the other warriors are accustomed to select various colours.

In the night Generals Grabbe and Golovine drew up the plan for the following day. In pursuance of this, the whole army of operation was divided into three columns. The two flank columns, the left commanded by General Klugenau, the right by Colonel Labinzoff, were to march up the mountains which bounded the road, drive the enemy from the forest, and thus secure a safe passage for the artillery and baggage behind them.

It was still quite dark in the valley when the signals for starting were given ; but day was dawning along the summits of the mountains, and the first beams of the sun glistened on the snow-clad peaks. While the army was drawn up in deep silence, the monotonous chant of the Tchetchenzes echoed across to us from the adjoining forest. It was their morning prayer, and their hymn of death, whose sounds accompanied their preparations for resistance. As they threw up their little breastworks, we could see their clothes at times gleaming through the trees, and their forms gliding among the rocks. The march began. Not a shot had yet been fired. But as the hills began to grow steeper, the first shots were heard. With every step the ground on either side became more fatiguing.

I was soon forced to send back my horse, and to clamber on foot from one column to the other. The soldiers were soon compelled to use their muskets for support. They could only return the bullets showered on them from above by leaning against trees. And the higher they climbed with intense labour, the more vio-

lent the fire of the Tchetchenzes became. But the sight of their falling comrades rendered our soldiers desperate. They rushed up the mountain with all the courage of despair, and with utter contempt of death. At every step almost inevitable destruction awaited them. At one moment pressing on at full speed, then driven back—at one moment protected by trees, and then entirely exposed to the enemy's fire, each fought not so much to gain the pass, but for his own life.

And while death thus reaped a glorious harvest in the forest, to the right and to the left, above and below, while the fire of the small arms grew momentarily fiercer, the thunder of our guns reached us from the plain, and echoed fearfully through the mountains. Thus it was for the whole morning and afternoon; at the same time, a tropical sun was blazing in the cloudless sky. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. The most dangerous portions of our route were surmounted by nightfall. At last—the sun had long departed—our troops reached a clear plateau. The forest entirely ceased, and the flying horsemen disappeared in the ravines and passes of the mountains before us, which we had still to scale. A short time afterwards, we saw Schamyl and his Murids galloping along the road, on his way to his aoul in the heart of the mountains.

During the whole day we had only traversed a verst and a half; and even our rest at night was broken by the unendurable heat. The next day, frequently exposed to the fire of the Tchetchni guerillas, we continued our march to the Snowy Mountains. The ground soon became so difficult, that the camels and the baggage remained a long way behind the infantry. In addition to this, a sharp wind was felt in the vicinity of the Snowy Mountains, and at last a most tremendous snow-storm fell upon us. In the morning we had almost been killed by the heat, and now we walked on snow, and sank soon afterwards up to our knees. Our cloaks, and other means of warming ourselves, were partly with the baggage; but some were left behind in Tchervlenna. But the train and the artillery could not come up with us before nightfall; they, therefore, camped several versts in our rear, while the soldiers wet through, frozen, hun-

gry, thirsty, and fatigued to death, were forced to pass the night upon the highest peaks. It was a dreadful time. But fatigue prevented them from feeling their sufferings so acutely; and at last a bright, clear morning dawned. The view which presented itself to us was so magnificent, that it even drew exclamations of admiration from our exhausted soldiers. Several northern spurs of the Eastern Caucasus lay almost beneath our feet, with their magnificent forest verdure and red-brown summits, upon which the mountain lakes gleamed like diamonds in the morning sun—and at other points thin masses of mist rose and collected into a cloud, exposing to our view Daghistan, beyond these mountains. Forests and meadows, intersected by the glistening streams, extended to an immense distance; a few aouls and stanitzas peeped out with their white stucco walls, and on the horizon a brilliant silver belt sparkled—it was the Caspian Sea. To our left lay the more level country of the Kумыks, traversed by numerous streams, and covered with luxuriant vegetation. To the right, however, the eye lost itself in the thousand snow-covered pinnacles of the mountains, which rose regularly behind each other, and disappeared in the horizon in the light morning mist.

When we afterwards descended into the plain, the news reached us near Kabar, that Tcherkey had surrendered to the small corps left to besiege it. This occurred in the following way. General Vegesack, on learning that Schamyl had left the town with the greater portion of his troops in order to meet us, had employed this moment of confusion among the garrison, to carry his troops across the Koïssu lower down, and then he had commenced the bombardment from the land side. After some resistance, the weak garrison was compelled to capitulate on condition of a free passage. General Vegesack unfortunately fell in the contest.

Our expedition was thus terminated; for the capture of Tcherkey had been intended as the finale of the first expedition of the year. After the soldiers had been allowed a few days' rest, we marched on the old road back to Tchervlenna, but slightly harassed by the enemy. Here General Grabbe remained several

weeks, and then went to Grotschnoi, to commence the building of the forts upon the new line of the Sundja. On arriving there, the general immediately ordered the building of Sakan-yurt to be commenced. This place is about twenty versts to the west of Grosnaya, on the Sundja. When we arrived there, we found the opposite bank of the narrow stream covered with dense forests; and this circumstance the Tchetchenzes turned to the best account, in spite of sentries and patrols. While our soldiers were working on this side of the river, they kept up an incessant fire from the other, where they were entirely sheltered by the dense foliage; and, like all Asiatics, they were such excellent marksmen, that we were soon forced to devise serious measures to check this. Before we set about building houses there, patrols crossed over to the opposite bank. While one part of the troops occupied the enemy, and drove them back from the Sundja, another portion cut down the trees which stood nearest the river. In this manner the wood was cleared, the hiding-place of the Tchetchenzes destroyed, and ourselves allowed some peace, at least during the day.

But, in lieu of this, a much more harassing night attack took place; for while the Tchetchenzes had left us before unassailed after nightfall, they now crept up to our pickets, advanced posts, and sentries, and shot them. Several attacks of the same nature were also made from the land side, and soon every light in the encampment became a target for the enemies. A reinforcement of the pickets, as well as numerous patrols, could scarcely diminish these incessant attacks, and a return of the fire was of equally slight service.

At last orders were given not to answer the shots. They fired for a little while on the first evening after this plan was pursued, but they soon ceased, and a question echoed through the silence of the night: Why we did not return their fire; did we despise them?—We want to sleep; go to bed yourselves, was the reply. The Tchetchenzes laughed and made a great noise, but not a shot was fired.*

* Would any more highly cultivated enemy have acted with such nobility of mind as these "savage Asiatics?"

It would, however, have been ridiculous to expect that this mode of defence, based upon the moral character of the Tchetchenzes, would last for any length of time, especially as we, regardless of the magnanimity of the foe, continued building our castle. After the completion of the task, an expedition was undertaken into the Little Tchetchenia, to clear the country nearest the river. The result was very trifling. A couple of aouls were destroyed, a few herds carried off, and several Tchetchenzes taken prisoners. But there was no decisive engagement.

On our return from this expedition, the building of the second fortress on the Sundja, Nagan-yurt, about twenty versts to the west of Sakan-yurt, was commenced and finished by the end of September, without any particular impediments on the part of the enemy.

In the meanwhile, orders had arrived for a more important expedition to be undertaken into the Little Tchetchenia, which commenced at the close of September. Expeditions of this kind have been so repeatedly described, and the mode of fighting is so entirely similar at the various points of the Caucasus, that it would be superfluous to give any more detailed account of ours. Nor did we have any decisive engagement on this occasion, although the war-cry was heard from all the forests around us. At a few aouls, which our troops destroyed, a more lively engagement took place. Just as a huge vessel, in traversing the sea, leaves a long visible furrow behind it, while the waves break, yield, and still rejoin on either side—so our army marched through the Tchetchenia. Immediately in its path there were no enemies; but they tormented us incessantly on either flank, and met together in our rear. The expedition left no perceptible traces among them. Here and there a Russian signal flag—a burning aoul—glistened in the depths of the sea of foliage. A few prisoners and several herds of cattle formed our trophies. This expedition might possibly appear at St. Petersburg more successful than it really was.

Our course was as follows. From Grosnaya we marched S.E. to the commencement of the mountains, passed several streams, scaled mountains, traversed forests, till at last, after

following the left bank of the Kasba to the N.E., we again reached Russian ground, between Andreyeff and Mamatiurt, about the end of October. Of all the hostile aouls, the most remarkable was one containing nearly all stone houses. It is true we found it utterly deserted; but in nearly all the houses surgical instruments and large stores of medicinal herbs had been left—a clear sign that the village was principally inhabited by Asiatic physicians. Had our surgeons learned the use of these herbs, that would have been the most valuable result of the expedition. For the physicians of the mountaineers possess such a superiority over the Russians, in treating the most dangerous wounds by bandages, which are moistened by decoctions, &c., made from their indigenous plants, that the latter do not attempt to deny their inferiority.

In the management of their instruments, especially in probing, and the immediate perception of the nature of a wound, they are extremely clever. Unfortunately it is very difficult to induce them to come to the Russian camp to see patients, and they keep their pharmaceutical as well as chirurgic knowledge most anxiously hidden from Europeans. Only this much is certain, that nearly every one who has fought in the Caucasus can mention instances in which our surgeons despaired of a cure, while the Circassian physicians could effect it in a short time, and generally without any considerable operation. Similar experiences the Russians also made formerly in the Persian war.

At a few versts' distance from Andreyeff, the expedition found many thousand trusses of hay, which the Tchetchenzes had collected here, in order—as we afterwards discovered—to have food for their horses in their vicinity, during a meditated inroad upon the Kумыks. This hay was burnt. It was a magnificent sight, when these almost countless pillars of fire shot up into the silent sky, and the whole neighbourhood gleamed with a purple tinge. The continual destruction of conquered aouls, this ruining of crops, the carrying off of herds, as is practised by the Russians, must give the whole Caucasian war a stamp of barbarity. But we must always bear in mind that to accomplish the proposed end, the weakening and final subjugation of

the Tcherkess, any other mode of fighting would not be so satisfactory. The experience of nearly 100 years has, on the contrary, proved that the enemy, if merely expelled from their villages, will not rest from the contest for an instant, but attack, harass, and surprise the Russians with increased fury. But by destroying the villages and crops, a part of the warriors are compelled to stay at home, to build new villages deeper in the mountains. In the meanwhile, the Russian army gains time to settle itself firmly in some newly conquered place. Still it cannot be denied that the conduct—not of Russia*—but of a few officers during this war, has frequently outstepped the bounds of necessary severity.

After the expedition through the Tchetchenia was ended, the troops dispersed again to return to the different forts along the line, and General Grabbe hurried back to Stavropol. The military year of 1841 appeared to be terminated; but Schamyl had, in the meanwhile, collected an army once more in the country of the Gumbetes. By the threat of a fine of one silver ruble, or fifty blows for every one who did not come in, he had assembled all the fighting force of both the Tchetchenias, and in this manner now stood at the head of 15,000 men. With the speed of lightning they then poured over the country of the Kumyks, surprised the inhabitants, who were friendly to the Russians, burned down their villages, made them prisoners, drove off their flocks, and even menaced Kisliar. The officer commanding at that fort inconsiderately marched into the open country against Schamyl, with only one hundred men and two guns. In a moment they were overpowered, the majority cut down, and the cannon carried off.

The commandants of the fortresses Grosnaya (General Alsheffsky), and Tchervlenna (Colonel Voinaroffky), had, in the meanwhile, received information of this misfortune, and hurried out of their forts, in order to unite in the enemy's rear, and so cut off his retreat. The detachments were only about two versts apart, when Schamyl suddenly came up, divided his troops into three columns, attacked the Russians on the right and left, but,

* We must bear in mind that it is a *Russian* officer who is speaking.

in the meanwhile, carried off 40,000 head of cattle, and the guns on the open road between them.

This campaign was of the highest importance in altering the circumstances of the Caucasian war of the present day. Not only were these two guns the first which were lost to the Russians (the Emperor's pistols, as they termed them, carried off a few years previously from the sea forts by the Avarians, could not be employed in the field), but this inroad of Schamyl into the country of the Ubychs, was the chief inducement for the unhappy expedition of the Russians during the following year into the country of the Gumbetes, in which General Grabbe lost more than 1000 men, and above 100 officers. It is notorious that this misfortune was followed by his recal, and equally notorious that this recal caused the removal of Golovine from his post, as well as General Sass obtaining leave for an indefinite time. These great changes in the supreme direction of the war, produced the unhappy defensive system of the year 1843, whose finale is formed by the immense losses of the Russians in November and December of the same year.

CHAPTER X.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IN THE CAUCASUS.

THERE are two events which, during later years, have attracted the attention of Europe in a high degree,—the struggles of the French in the piratical States of Africa, and those of the Russians with the nations of the Caucasus. Through their obstinacy and perseverance, as well as through the streams of blood which flowed, and the important consequences which may emanate from them, these struggles have in fact acquired a value which renders them worthy of closer examination.

While Persia and the powerful Osmanli empire were gradually sinking into political paralysis, and the power of the world-threatening crescent seemed utterly destroyed, we saw in astonishment two vigorous nations, which till then had scarce been mentioned in history, rise from the bosom of Islamism, and with armed hand defy two of the most powerful states in Europe. Through their boldness these nations at that day claimed our surprise ; through their strength and perseverance, they now acquire our admiration.

The war of the French with the Arabs, and that of the Russians with the Tcherkess, have often been regarded from the same point of view ; but the analogy between these two contests is to be found in their present condition, and not in their origin.

At the conquest of Algiers, every one knew pretty accurately the designs which France pursued in her operations, and the reasons which justified these designs. The documents were open for the inspection of the whole world, and every event may be followed with certainty from the commencement of the war to the present day.

It is quite different with the Russo-Circassian war. About the real origin, Europe hardly knows any thing; and about its development and present condition, only so much is known as travellers choose to tell us, principally on hearsay evidence.

When France speaks of projects of civilisation, we understand this, for we have all visited the French school; and, if we have not learned more from them, it is assuredly not the fault of our schoolmasters.

But when Russia proposed to take a nation under the protection of her knout, we shudderingly draw back from such a frightful picture, and the words involuntarily escape our lips: "Woe to those who are condemned to become the scholars of such teachers."

What induced the Russians to march their armies into the Caucasus? what ends have they in view? and by what are these ends justified?

Russia herself has lately felt the necessity of giving an answer to the above question, as some justification of her authority: our examination will show how far this reply is satisfactory.

The principal feature of this defence, as contained in the work of M. Fonton,* may be condensed into the following sentence: "The Caucasus has ever been, as far as we are acquainted with its history, the scene of sanguinary contests between Europe and Asia; in the progress of destruction, the actors have only changed from time to time; but the course of events and the parts have always remained the same. For centuries, Russia has been preparing for the part assigned her by destiny; and when she was eventually driven, by the force of events, to penetrate into the Caucasus, she only fulfilled the course of immutable destiny."

This argument is of the most menacing importance to the whole of Europe; for where could we possibly mention any country which has not been, as far as history extends, the scene

* *La Russie dans l'Asie Mineure, &c., &c.; par Félix Fonton, Chevalier des Ordres de Sainte Anne, de Saint Vlad, &c.* Paris, 1846.

of repeated sanguinary struggles; and who can foresee whither Russia may fancy herself summoned by Providence, and where her armies may be driven by the force of events?

Among the nations belonging to history, the Greeks and Persians were the first who contended for the possession of this country; their desolating expeditions were followed by the murderous battles of the Romans and Parthæ; the third act of the sanguinary drama is occupied by those barbarous hordes, who, pouring from Central Asia, bore terror and destruction into the very heart of Europe.

Christianity, which was introduced into Georgia and Armenia about the commencement of the fourth century, instead of extinguishing the sparks of disunion by the gentle breath of love, fanned them into the bright flame of destruction. Instead of love, it brought hatred; and revenge, instead of conciliation. Its devotees, or rather the devotees of the sects which sprung from its bosom, continued the horrors which the barbarians had commenced. The spirit of unity finally descended on the contending parties, not through the charity of Christianity, but through the pressing necessity of entering into a powerful alliance against a new and dangerous foe.

With the reign of Ardjir-Babè-Khan, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, commences a long period of misfortune and persecutions for the Christian tribes of the Caucasus, who found war-desiring, irreconcilable enemies in the believers in the doctrines of Zoroaster, which were then in a period of new developement in Persia. And when the empire of the Sassanides, convulsed by internal quarrels, was hastening to its end, and the tree of Christianity, which had been planted in the blood-stained lands of Colchis and Armenia, had taken firm root, a new storm burst over these countries, which were thirsting for peace, with the victorious banner of the Prophet of Mecca.

The glorious reign of David II., and of his great successor, the celebrated Thamar, only seemed to grant the exhausted nations the blessings of peace, in order to render the next period of terror and destruction more painful and perceptible. The hordes of the Mongol Tartars, forming the rearguard of the great mi-

gration, poured themselves over the countries from the Cyrus to the Borysthenes, and held them in their iron bondage for nearly two centuries and a half.

We will pass over in silence the description of the obstinate battles and horrors which later emanated from the schism of the sects of Omar and Ali, to an examination of the weighty events which forced Russia to enter the Caucasus. M. Fonton says:—

“After the grand duchy of Moscow had shaken off the yoke of the Tartars, and had thus become the representative of the Russo-Sclavonic power, it subjected Kazan (1553), took Astrachan four years later, and utterly annihilated the horde bearing the name of that city. The renown of these deeds had spread even across the Caucasus, and commercial connections were formed on the Caspian Sea. Mistress of the whole territory of the Volga, Russia also took possession of the lower mouths of the Terek and Koïssu, and subjugated the rulers of Tumen (Tarku); at the same time, she possessed the best opportunity to fight with success against the Khans of the Crimea, and open a road to the Black Sea.”

This passage speaks for itself, and scarcely requires comment. If Russia, because she is mistress of the Volga, believes herself justified in also becoming mistress of the mouths of the Terek and Koïssu because they flow into the Caspian Sea—if, further, she subjugates the rulers of Tumen, to extend her commercial relations in Daghistan—and if, after this has been effected, she evinces a desire for the conquest of the Crimea—we simply perceive in this the ever-living principle of Russia to extend in every direction; but in vain do we seek for that pressure of circumstances which drove her to this extension, nor do we find her guided in her conduct by any other law than that of the stronger.

We will not weary our readers by repeating all the endless tirades which M. Fonton produces, to prove that Russia, far removed from all selfish views, was finally induced solely by Christian love to incorporate Georgia with her possessions.

Only at times does M. Fonton, when writing of facts which are no longer a secret to any one, let the claw of greed peep out

from beneath the cloak of Russian charity; but then he exerts all his eloquence to prove that Russia, if she benefited one country, was perfectly justified in repaying herself for it in another.

Thus he confesses that Peter the Great, after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the eastern coast of the Black Sea, turned his entire attention to the occupation of India—an idea which a premature death unfortunately prevented him from carrying out, but which he left as a sacred charge to his successors. This alone, in our opinion, shows the true policy of Russia, which the nonsense about sympathy and Christian duties only serves to conceal.

The reasons which induced Russia to interfere in the affairs of the nations of the Caucasus, are the same which formerly induced Philip of Macedon to interfere in Greece. But the settlement of the question, and whether the result will be the same, remains for futurity to answer.

Russia afforded one country protection and assistance, in order to have the right of conquering another; it was natural that she should choose her protégés among the Christian tribes of the Caucasus, rather than from the converts to Islamism.

Through a series of intrigues and machinations of the most disgusting character, through bribery and oppression, the Muscovite policy at length succeeded, at the end of the last century, in inducing George XIII., Prince of Georgia, to give up his throne and dignity, for himself and successors, in favour of Russia. In the chapter headed *Etablissement de la Russie au dela du Caucase*, M. Fonton says:—

“When the Emperor Alexander, by his manifesto of the 12th September, 1801, declared his readiness to take possession of the Georgian throne, he listened to the magnanimous promptings of his heart.

“‘Not to increase our forces (he said, in his proclamation to the Georgian nation), not through selfish views, not to enlarge an empire whose boundaries already extend so far, do we take on ourselves the burden of the throne of Georgia: the feeling of our dignity, honour, and humanity, have alone imposed on us

the sacred duty of listening to your cries for help, of averting from your heads the misfortunes which oppress you—and of introducing a powerful government in Georgia, which is capable of exercising justice and impartiality, of protecting the life and property of each, and of covering all with the ægis of the law.”

If Russia had only fulfilled *one* of these promises, we would pardon all the prior acts of oppression which led to the occupation of Georgia; for power leads to imperiousness, and all imperiousness is oppressive. If there were a single example in history, that a country given up to Russian dominion had become more flourishing, and its inhabitants more prosperous—the question as to the justice or injustice of the Russian occupation of Georgia might be shelved; for a powerful nation never yet completed its mission on earth, without having done some act of cruelty or oppression to its weaker neighbours, and, wherever the right of the stronger is exerted for the welfare of the weaker, it is allowed and approved by the judicial sentence of history.

But when—as is the case with Russia—power only exerts its strength to suppress instead of supporting, to destroy instead of building up, to bring destruction instead of a blessing, the hatred of all honest men is concentrated upon it; and it is the duty of each, whom accident or a spirit of inquiry leads to the scene of destruction, to contribute his mite, that the extension of the evil may be checked, for which a clear acquaintance with it is the first and most important step.

We may, and not improperly, compare Russian policy, which hides its robber fangs under the cloak of religion, with that lady so well known in Moscow, who so fervently kissed the miraculous statue of the Virgin in the vicinity of the Kremlin, to the edification of the bystanders, that the most splendid diamond upon the brilliantly bedecked statue remained in her mouth.

After the occupation of Georgia, the Russians followed Potemkin's example, when by his disgraceful intrigues he utterly subjected the Khans of Crimea to the Russian sceptre without a blow. A species of committee was formed, whose duty it was to collect all the geographical and historical information, tend-

ing to support Russia's claim on the adjoining countries. In this the Russians had perfect liberty of action as long as no European power interfered in their affairs; for they could prove to the ignorant mountaineers any thing they pleased, without being convicted of falsehood. How just these claims were, and how manifold the proofs, we will attempt to show by a few extracts.

1. The Russians assert a claim to the possession of the Kabardah. This is founded on the following reasons:—

(a.) Tzar Ivan Wassilyevitch, the Terrible, married a daughter of Temruk, a Kabardian prince, which goes to show that the Kabardians at that time were in amicable correspondence with the Russians.

(b.) An expedition, undertaken by the Russians in 1717, against the Khan of Khiva, was commanded by Bekovitch Tcherkaski, a Kabardian prince—a proof that, at that time, Kabardians fought under the Russian banner. Consequently, Russia has a right to rule over the Kabardah!*

2. Russia asserts that she has a claim upon the provinces on the Caspian, because—Russian settlements were established there in the time of Peter the Great.†

The coast nations, who, in their simplicity, could not quite comprehend the Muscovite syllogisms, sought the first favourable opportunity to regain by arms what had been torn from them by the same means. They expelled the Russian colonists from Shemacha, cut down all who offered any opposition, and thus frustrated for a while the far-sighted commercial views of their enemies. Peter the Great, furious at the terrible losses he sustained, determined on taking sanguinary revenge on the mountaineers, and subjecting them to his sceptre for ever, “not through a desire (as Fonton says) to enlarge his empire by eccentric conquests, but to consolidate his influence, to regulate the con-

* The Germans had better prepare themselves for having a claim raised by the Russians on their fatherland for similar reasons; for what a quantity of German princesses have been married to Russian princes! How many German commanders have fought under the Russian standard!

† With what justice Peter founded these settlements by force of arms, we have already seen. “Because Russia was mistress of the mouths of the Danube, she also desired to hold the mouths of the Terek and Koissu.”

fused condition of the different states, and to give a firm basis to the development of Russian trade."

What a pity that the freedom-loving mountaineers of the Caucasus did not understand the philanthropic and disinterested views which were to be the result of the Russian desolating campaign! What a pity that they lost, through their heroic resistance, all the enviable blessings which would certainly have fallen to their lot under the gentle Muscovite sceptre!

Russia's claims to the possession of the Pontic littoral are based on the celebrated treaty of Adrianople (1829), in which the Sultan gave up to the Russians all the country situated between the Kuban and the Black Sea.

But it is a fact which can be most clearly proved, that the Tcherkess never—even nominally—were under Turkish authority; and that the Sultan had not the least right to dispose of these countries at his pleasure. The Tcherkess—of whom the majority of them are Mussulmans—as well as the adjoining littoral tribes—Schapsughs, Ubychs, Dshigheti, &c.—have never stood in any other relation to the Sultan than that in which Catholics stand to the Pope; they regarded and revered him as the head of their church, but were as little subject to him in temporal affairs, as the Catholic nations of Europe are to the Pope.

The question, Whether the Sultan ever exercised a supremacy in Circassia, and consequently was justified in making a cession of that territory, was the subject of violent debates in Parliament in consequence of the seizure of the *Vixen*; and Bell, the owner of the vessel, has proved most incontestably, that the Tcherkess were never under Turkish authority either *de jure* or *de facto*, and that, consequently, the claims of Russia to that country are null and void.

Every one knows in the present day that treaties are usually not worth the paper on which they are written, as the stronger never scruple to break their most sacred treaties with the weaker, if they can do so unpunished. The fate of Kracau furnishes the latest, if not the last, proof of this assertion.

We must now attempt to shew that Russia, in spite of the cession of Circassia, extorted from the Sultan (of course, only on paper), never had the slightest claim to this country, as the inhabitants never acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan.

We are forced, in order to do this, to go back to earlier treaties between Russia and the Sublime Porte, which formed the basis of the treaty of Adrianople. Still, we will make our quotations as short as possible, as every reader who wishes for a nearer acquaintance with the documents, can consult them in the well-known "*Recueil de Traités, de Martens.*"

In the year 1744, after the close of an obstinate war, a treaty was made between Russia and Turkey, which is known by the name of the treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji, and of which the third article is as follows:—

"All the Tartar tribes, those of the Crimea, of Buginc, of Cuban, of Yetissan, of Giambinluc, of Sedicul, without any exception, are recognised by the two Empires as free nations, entirely independent of every foreign power (*comme nations libres, entièrement indépendantes de toute puissance étrangère*). That they shall be under the immediate government of their own khan, of the tribe of Jinghis Khan, who shall be elected and confirmed by the universal assent of the Tartar nations, and is bound to govern them after their original manners and customs, without ever being responsible to any foreign power (*sans jamais rendre compte à aucune puissance étrangère*), in pursuance of which the Ottoman Porte will in no way interfere either in the election or confirmation of the above-mentioned khan, or in his domestic, political, civil, and home affairs; it will, on the contrary, regard and recognise the said Tartar nation, in its civil and political relations, as equal to all other powers which govern themselves, and are only dependent on God (*qui se gouvernent elles-mêmes, et ne dépendent que de Dieu*). The ecclesiastic ceremonies, as they are identical with those of the Moslem, and his highness the Sultan is the sublime caliph of Muhammadanism, shall be regulated according to the decrees of their religion, without in any way restricting their political and religious liberty."

All that follows upon this, only serves to strengthen and confirm the foregoing, and the article terminates with the words:—

“The Sublime Porte binds itself, and solemnly promises, after the example of Russia, in future not to introduce or support any garrison or armed forces in the said towns, fortresses, countries, and dwellings—further, for the future, to appoint no governor or officer to these states, under whatever appellation it might be, but to leave the Tartars in perfect liberty and independence, as is done by Russia.” From the passages we have quoted, it is most evident that both Russia and Turkey regarded the countries in question as free and independent for all ages, and only dependent on God. But if the reader have any doubt on this head, it will be amply sufficient to remove it, if we quote the most important points of another document attached to the treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji. In the year 1775, a “convention explicative” was drawn up between Russia and Turkey, whose origin is sufficiently shewn by the contents of the document itself, to render any explanation unnecessary. In the introduction to this Convention we read:—

“Since the close of the treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji, dated 10th July, 1774 (1188 of the Hejra), various doubts and misunderstandings have arisen about several articles in this treaty relative to the Tartars of the Crimea, and others, equally with them, free and independent nations; which doubts have spread so far, that the inhabitants of the said lands are deprived of the fruits of peace, order, and security.

“In order to prevent for the future, and stop, once for all, all such misapprehensions, which may lead to disputes and hostilities between the two powers, the plenipotentiaries of the two empires have amicably agreed to commence a new negotiation at Constantinople, for the purpose of explaining and discussing the prevailing doubts, without, however, altering or restricting the above-mentioned treaty of Kudjuk Kainardji in the slightest degree.”

The first article of this Convention is:—

“The treaty of constant peace, signed at Kudjuk Kainardji, is

confirmed in all its force by the present Convention, and in all points, without any exception, every point according to its actual meaning, in such way as if the said treaty were, word for word, and in its whole extent, contained herein, with the exception of those articles which are carefully and specially brought forward and explained in the articles of the present treaty."

Article II. of the Convention contains a clearer statement of Article III. of the treaty of Kainardji, whose verbal repetition would carry us too far; and we shall content ourselves with quoting the conclusion, which contains the *punctum saliens*.

"The Sublime Porte, which has already, by the treaty of Kainardji, given up all temporal rights over the Tartar hordes, tribes, and races, binds itself anew by this Convention, never to lay claim to these rights again under any pretext whatsoever; *but rather to consider and recognise the said peoples as a free and independent nation*, in accordance with Article III. of the aforesaid treaty."

In our opinion, it would be superfluous to give any comment upon these documents, which, in their most material points, are so clearly and sensibly drawn up, that it appears almost impossible to twist or turn them in any way. We shall soon see that the Russians, in spite of this, made the attempt, and cut the knot in Gordian fashion, which they could not unfasten with their practised diplomatic fingers.

The Turks kept their treaties with such faith and constancy, as honour them in comparison with the treacherous Muscovites, for which, however, they suffered most terribly afterwards, instead of being rewarded—just as history furnishes innumerable examples of a similar nature, when the integrity of weak nations, as opposed to stronger, is regarded as folly.

Four years had scarce elapsed, when the Empress Catharine, with a disgusting breach of the treaty of Kainardji, and instigated by her unprincipled and ambitious favourite, Potemkin, sent an army to the Crimea, to take possession of this fertile country by stratagem or force.

Through the dethronement of Sahin Gerai, Khan of the Crimea, and through the occupation of his territory, whose liberty and independence the empress had not only solemnly recognised, but promised to maintain for ever, she literally broke all her treaties with Turkey, whose various points were so definite and precise, that she could not twist them to her own purposes.

The reader, who is aware that even the most patent acts of oppression on the part of the powerful, are always based on the appearance of justice, will be curious to learn how Catharine proceeded to bring her actions into unison with her words.

She published a manifesto, dated 8th April, 1781, in which it was stated, that the chief object of the treaty of Kainardji, and of the *Convention Explicative* emanating from it, was the maintenance of a permanent peace between Russia and the Sublime Porte ; and that, by the recognition of the liberty and independence of the Crimea, it was believed that the cause of repeated misunderstandings between the two powers would be removed ; that the empress, however, found herself deceived in her expectations : therefore, “ animated with the most upright desire to confirm and maintain the last treaty made with the Porte, through our wish to remove any cause for dispute, both our duty to ourselves and our care for the preservation of the safety of our empire, demand that we should decide on putting an end to the disturbances in the Crimea once for all : for this purpose, we incorporate with our empire the peninsula of the Crimea, the island of Taman, and all the country situate between the Kuban and the Black Sea, as a just indemnity for the losses and expenses which we have suffered, in maintaining the peace and prosperity of the said countries.”

The Tartars of the Crimea deserved their fate for yielding so weakly to it ; but the Circassians, in spite of all the manifestos and armies of Russia, have proved, with weapons in their hands, that they deserve the liberty which has been their inheritance since time immemorial, and, please God, will remain so for ever. As a confirmation of this, we may be permitted to quote a passage from a work by Ivan Golovine, a Russian, and near relation of

General Golovine (who commanded in the Caucasus for several years), which possesses great claim to our confidence.

“The war in the Caucasus (he states in *La Russie sous Nicolas I.*) is, under the present circumstances, an utterly fruitless war, and the obstinacy with which the Russians persist in carrying it on, will only be followed by useless bloodshed and increased hate, and render any permanent reconciliation impossible. Russia should, in the first instance, declare war against her own *employés*, who are her greatest enemies; and who, after themselves enkindling the quarrel, render it so destructive in its consequences, by plundering and robbing unmercifully. They sacrifice the advantage of their country to their own, and even sell the enemy powder and arms. They conceal the number of killed; and so wretched is the treatment of the Russian *corps d’armée*, that not a single surgical apparatus deserving the name is to be found in the hospitals. The generals, for their part, prolong the war, in order to secure themselves a source of profit and promotion: so long, finally, as the soldiers are not taught to fire, the loss will always be on the side of the Russians, as their artillery is of little or no use to them in this utterly irregular warfare.”

We trust that what we have stated will suffice to prove the truth of our assertion at the commencement of this chapter; that the Russians, in their conquests and desolating forays in the Caucasus, and on the littoral of the Black Sea, were guided by no other principle than the law of might. The only object we had in our inquiry was an unadorned statement of facts; for we know that the most elaborate arguments and proofs cannot undo the past. We will go still further and confess, that our sympathies for several of the nations who became the prey of the robber claws of the Russian Eagle, are extinguished—for we repeat it, that every nation which patiently endures a disgraceful yoke, is unworthy of a better fate. Our sympathy is given to those nations who, despite all the exertions of the Russians, have preserved their liberty to the present day, and to those who, though forced to bow to superior strength, bear

their chains with repugnance, and only await the favourable moment to hurl them from them—just as the steel only bends under the pressure of the hand, in order to spring back into its former position with greater power. These nations deserve liberty, because they so earnestly strive to possess it. To the Circassians of the Black Sea, liberty is a fondly loved mother, who gave them birth, and nourished them at her breast; to the Circassians of Daghistan, she is a beloved bride, for whom they fight and struggle.

In truth, we could not imagine any more wretched lot than to see these powerful, blooming peoples, pining away beneath the poisonous breath of Russian civilisation. It would be difficult to find two nations in the history of the present, who are so utterly opposed to each other in their characteristic features as the servile Muscovites and the chivalrous mountaineers of the Caucasus. The Russians have been, since Peter the Great's iron hand gave them the first blow to shake them out of the darkness of barbarism, in a state of transition, and form a chaos whose elements must first be clarified and settled before it will be possible to form any judgment. Still, all travellers agree that four vices—branches of one and the same tree—cheating, lying, thieving, and drunkenness—are found more frequently, and in a higher degree among them, than in all the other nations of Europe.

In opposition to these vices, according to the testimony of all travellers in the Caucasus, the distinguishing qualities of the Circassians are—honesty, love of truth, fidelity, and moderation. Would not such virtues, with that highest blessing, liberty, be too high a price to pay for the happiness of being under that disgrace to humanity—the Muscovite government?

In truth, were it not horrible, it would be considered ridiculous that a nation like the Russian, which has never known law or justice since its origin, should feel itself sent to prescribe laws for other nations.

“Oppression and robbery,” Golovine says, “are the principal features of the Russian government. It has never been able to comprehend that it is possible to govern without oppression—that mildness more firmly establishes the happiness of the people, and the security of the power than all the barbarity, which is

in Russia called proper severity, just as tyranny and power are there mistaken for each other."

The Russian government is very well aware, that all the oppression it delights to exercise can only pass unpunished under the protection of the most brutal ignorance and moral corruption: hence it is that the chief mystery of their policy is based on the propagation of these.

And this nation, whose rulers, like the owls, only feel comfortable in the dark, whose policy is a drag on all progress—this nation, which forms the dark side of Europe, could be chosen by Providence to bear the torch of enlightenment into other countries! Woe to the nations that are condemned to become the scholars of such instructors! Woe to every land where the Russian eagle has already built its nest! Woe to those over which its destructive wings may hereafter be outspread!

We know, unhappily too well, that mere words, even if we spoke with tongues of fire, cannot in the slightest degree check the destruction that is impending over the nations of the Caucasus: but we will at any rate strip off the veil from the truth, which we cannot prevent, and expose it in all its horrible nudity.

The Tcherkess fortunately know the whole extent of the danger which menaces them; for many of the tribes which now fight under Schamyl's banner, have already once experienced the blessings of the Muscovite rule, and it is a most pregnant sign that these identical tribes are the most bitter, the most irreconcilable, enemies of the Russians.

Schamyl, for his part, through the unbounded influence which he exercises over his countrymen, as well as through the firmness and caution with which he conducts the operations of war, gives just cause for the hopes, that the exertions of the Russian armies may never have any other result than to fill the ravines of the Caucasus with the bodies of their slaughtered countrymen.

We cannot do better than end this chapter with the following vivid quotation from Bodenstedt:—

"The Russians have three inexorable enemies to contend with

in the Caucasus, the first and most terrible of which is the climate—the mountains are the second—and the mountaineers the third. How often is the traveller rendered melancholy by the sight of a band of unhappy, wasted mercenaries, who, torn from their gloomy cabins, are removed into a more healthy neighbourhood, in order that a couple of years may be added to their joyless existence! They totter along like shadows, and we know not which appears more melancholy, the pale countenance, or the coarse grey cloaks in which their wasted limbs are concealed. If we meet at times a band of healthy, active youths, we may feel convinced that they only arrived a few weeks before from Russia, and have not yet spent a summer in the Caucasus: a few months of patience, and their cheeks will be as wan, and their eyes as lustreless, as those of their brothers!

“I was often oppressed by a melancholy feeling when I saw these newly-arrived victims of war and pestilence drawn up in rank and file. They know not why they have been torn from their homes, and driven thousands of versts away into this strange land: they know not why they fight, nor against whom they fight—all that they know is, that they will never again see their home! This sorrowful certainty of an eternal separation from all that is dear to them, this timid foreboding of a miserable death, is expressed not only in their features, but also in their songs, which are nearly all impregnated with a deep and touching feeling of melancholy. The soldier sings, as it were, during his lifetime, his own funeral chant, well aware that no one will mourn over his bier, and it is difficult to say which sounds more mournfully—the wind which whistles at night through the mountains, or these melancholy strains. Truly, such flowers of melody have their growth in blood and tears!”

APPENDIX.

Jamais ou chef, ou citoyen
Ne conçut un projet aussi grand que le mien.
Ma secte élève l'âme et la rend intrepide,
Ma foi fait des heros.....

VOLTAIRE, *Mahomet.*

SUFISM AND THE MURIDS:

OR, THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE DOCTRINES OF SUFI, AND
THE SECT NOW FORMED IN DAGHISTAN.

WE have repeatedly mentioned in the course of our work, what an important part the religious element played in the history of the Daghistani wars of liberation. This religious element has grown, under the form which it has received from the consecrated hands of Kasi Mullah and Schamyl, to such importance that it already deserves a niche in history. It has become the fire, by whose heat the most heterogeneous elements were fused into one harmonious mass: the cement which permanently connected the tribes of Daghistan, previously dismembered by manners, belief, and hereditary enmity; and finally, as the most powerful promoter of the mutual expression of strength among these nations.

Strange to say, this fresh branch of faith, so recently inoculated on the withering tree of Islamism, has till now remained unnoticed. A great deal has been told us about the deeds of the mountaineers, without thinking of the generative principle which summoned these deeds into life: just as the hurried wanderer often passes the foaming mountain torrent, without thinking of the lofty source whence it flows.

All that we know from various writers with reference to the very important religious movement in Daghistan, may be reduced to a few words: Schamyl has formed a new sect, whose devotees are called Murids; these, as a distinction, wear white caps, while the fur caps of the other defenders of liberty

are brown, blue, or yellow. What, however, is concealed under this white cap, every body has forgotten to mention.

We will attempt to fill up this gap, at least partially, by making the religious element, which forms the centre of all the movements in Daghistan, the prominent feature in our sketch.

Before the appearance of Kasi Mullah, the greater portion of Daghistan, which is now in revolt, was subjugated by the Russians. Yermoloff, the best of all the generals after Zizianoff, who ever opposed the mountaineers, had cleverly employed the confusion that prevailed in Daghistan—partly in consequence of the difference of belief, partly through the blood-revenge, and partly by the long lasting enmity existing between different tribes—for the promotion of Russian interests, and gained a reputation among the mountaineers, which none of his predecessors or of his successors ever possessed.

In beauty of person, in bravery, perseverance, and chivalrous sentiments, comparable to the noblest Circassian princes, Yermoloff was superior to them all through his European education and Russian *finesse*. He treated the subjected tribes with conciliatory mildness, but the hostile ones with severity bordering on barbarity. Russian, body and soul, full of enthusiasm for the youthful renown of his fatherland, he regarded all means as sacred which were intended for the advantage of Russia. He hurled the torch of dissension among the hostile tribes, and helped the weaker against the stronger, in order to acquire the gratitude of the former, and to subject the latter. Never has a victor ruled more terribly in the territory of the conquered, and yet never has a conqueror's name remained in such terrific, and at the same time so honourable, remembrance, as that of Yermoloff among the nations of the Caucasus.

Opposed to such a man, Kasi Mullah laid the foundation of his power; the footsteps of the great Russian leader became the furrow in which the Murschids of Daghistan sowed the seed of the new Faith.

This doctrine, evidently only Sufism, modified to the exigencies of the moment, was intended to remove all disunion and

schism, to struggle against that terrible monster the blood-revenge, and to unite all the nations of the Caucasus for one common end.

To prove our idea as to the close connection of Sufism with the Daghistani doctrine, we will here quote a passage, referring to the latter, from a Russian report, which was designed to draw the attention of the government to the importance of the religious movement in Daghistan. The passage, when translated, reads as follows :—

“The Daghistani philosophers assume that there are in man three elements, which must be carefully distinguished—the physical, mental, and moral.

“Of these three elements, which together, with equally effective powers, are capable of equal developement, the physical takes the lowest place, but can gain the upper hand over the mental and moral if the latter are neglected. As, however, in consequence of our natural imperfection, the physical element only too often becomes the ruling one in us; men have agreed, in order to escape the evil consequences arising from this, to subject it to certain laws, emanating from the better and wiser among them; thus keeping its strength within the necessary limits, and guarding earnestly against any infringement of them. This collection of laws is called by the Moslem the *Sharyat*.

“The physical element is followed by the mental, which arouses and fosters in man reason, intellect, and the capabilities implied thereby. Still, the mental element also requires a bridle and moderation, if it is not to degenerate into the tyrant of man; the Moslem consequently possess a second book, which lays down the limits for this element, and is called in the sacred language the *Maarifat*.

“The moral element finally, the third and highest, teaches us to conquer and subdue the passions, and leads man, by softening and ennobling him, towards the lofty object of his existence. All that is written for the purpose of ennobling our feelings, to sanctify our thoughts, and extend our perceptions of the all supreme—in short, all that leads us to perfection—is contained in the book, called by the Moslem the *Tarykat*.

“In consequence of the various explanations of the doctrines of the Prophet by the Islamite philosophers, sects or schools, at variance with each other, were formed—as is the case in every developement of a new religion—which led to the result, that the faith of Muhammad was perverted by ambitious priests to political purposes. This political influence was principally perceptible in the explanation of the Tarykat, which, although assuming the dogmas of the Koran as the basis, received an entire metamorphosis, and, in this new form, first and chiefly gained power and influence among the Persians; under the name of Tarykat, we therefore understand, in general, the doctrines of morality mixed with political tendencies among the Moslem who have been converted to this sect.

“The chiefs of the new school were called Murschids, and their followers Murids. How great the influence was which the spiritual power attained through this doctrine, is seen in the example of the Murschid Muhammad, who, in the year of the Prophet 906 (according to our chronology 1528), mounted the throne of the Schah of Persia. Originally living only for his religion, with increasing secular power, he evermore pursued similar objects; and in the same way the Murschid, Mullah Muhammad, devoted himself entirely to religious objects, which, however, at a later date, especially under his successors, Kasi Mullah and Hamsad-Bey, were perverted to political purposes.”

Thus far our Russian author. He represents the state of the case, without, as it seems, being acquainted with its name. The description, though generally correct, yet very defective in various parts, leads to the idea that the author had but a very superficial knowledge of his subject. How much of the above is applicable to the Murids of Daghistan, we are the less able to say with certainty, as till now there is nothing definite and complete, but all is in a state of developement. We can, however, refer to Sufism as the source whence Kasi Mullah and Schamyl drew the fundamental ideas of their new doctrines, and in this sense we may be allowed to devote a little space to its consideration.

There are as many different explanations of the origin of the Sufis, and the nature of their doctrines, as there are writers on

the subject. According to De Sacy and Schmölders, this sect does not emanate, as Tholuck asserts, from the bosom of Islamism, but owes its germ to the Sages of the banks of the Ganges.

"Sufism," Schmölders says in his splendid work about the philosophical schools existing among the Arabs, "can be as little called a philosophical system as a religious sect: nor did a Mussulman ever regard it as either one or the other. Sufism, which we may most fittingly compare with a monastic order, is fundamentally nothing but a species of contemplative life.

"The Sufi assumes that divine truth is immediately revealed to the man striving for it, if he retires from the world, and, freeing himself from all terrestrial passions, devotes his life exclusively to contemplation. But as this species of contemplation is merely individual, and solely refers to things, which from their nature are without the sphere of our vision and our language, it is patent that a philosophical system can never grow out of it. The Arabs certainly speak of a science of Sufism, and have left a quantity of books in which the same is explained: but these works only contain the regulations which must be followed in order to attain a contemplative life, and definitions of those philosophical ideas which are indispensable for the consideration of higher things, and lastly, the explanation of the numerous technical expressions which are so frequently met with in the books of the Sufis.

"If we assert that Sufism has been developed without any scientific substructure, and can draw from itself, without any foreign assistance, the requisite strength for its existence, still we by no means wish to say, that it has remained entirely estranged from a scientific influence. Still the philosophic and theologic elements, which in the course of time have been interwoven with it, only form the ever-varying shell of Sufism, while the germ must ever remain immutable, according to its original spirit."

We still want a detailed history of Sufism, although the works of Graham, Hammier, Malcolm, De Sacy, Schmölders, Tholuck, and others, contain excellent accounts. Those who feel anxious to form a closer acquaintance with this interesting subject, we must refer to these works.

There are four steps in the mental life which the Sufis, according to their doctrine, have to ascend, in order to attain to the perfect idea of the Deity. If we refer the state of these men, striving for truth in the four phases which they have to go through, to Schamyl and his subjects, we shall obtain the following result.

On the first or lowest step stands the great mass of the nation. Here no bridle nor higher direction is requisite. The Sharyat or external law must be most strictly observed by them, as through its defective perception the inner voice does not always command what is right.

The second step is occupied by the Murids, who emanate from the better class of the nation. They no longer require the bridle: the external law is superfluous with them; for every true Murid—every one really striving for truth—is good, for he knows that virtue alone leads to truth. He bears his reward and his punishment with him. He gives alms, not because the Sharyat prescribes it, but because it pains him to see the poor suffering. He attends to his ablutions, not because the Koran commands them, but because cleanliness is a necessity with him; for he knows that a pure mind can only dwell in a pure body, &c.

The third step is held by the Naïbs, the viceroys of Schamyl. All that we have said relative to the Murids is true about them, though in a higher degree.

Lastly, on the fourth or highest step stands Schamyl alone. He is in immediate, actual, communication with the Deity. His words are God's words, and his commands are the commands of the Lord. He is the sun whence the Naïbs, his moons, derive their light, and, surrounded by the Murids, their satellites, penetrate the night of the nation.

The only reason why Allah has not long ago destroyed the enemies of Schamyl, of light, and of faith, from the earth is, because he is "patient and long-suffering."

THE END.

